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ACTS

AND

MONUMENTS

OF THE

CHRISTIAN MARTYRS.

EXTRACTED FROM


MR. JOHN FOX.

ACTS AND MONUMENTS

OF THE

CHRISTIAN MARTYRS.

*The PERSECUTION in SCOTLAND, against certain Persons
in Perth, in the Year 1543.*



THERE was an act of parliament made in the government of the lord Hamilton, governor of Scotland, giving privilege to all men of the realm of Scotland to read the Scriptures in their mother-tongue, secluding nevertheless all convocation of people to hear the Scriptures read or expounded. Which liberty of private reading lacked not its fruit; so that in sundry parts of Scotland men's eyes were opened to see the truth. At this time there was a sermon preached by friar Spense, in Perth, affirming prayer made to saints to be so necessary, that without it there could be no hope of salvation. Which a burgess of the town, called Robert Lamb, could not abide, but accused him in open audience of erroneous doctrine, and adjured him, in God's name, to utter the truth. This the friar promised to do; but the tumult of the people increased so, that he could have no audience; and yet the said Robert, with great danger of his life, escaped the hands of the multitude.

About this time, in the year of our Lord 1543, the enemies to the truth procured John Chartuous, who favoured the truth, and was provost of Perth, to be deposed from his office, and a papist, called Alexander Marbeck, to be chosen in his room, that they might the more easily bring their wicked and ungodly enterprise to an end.

The governor of Perth, the cardinal of Scotland, the earl of Argyle, sir John Campbel of Lunde, the bishops of Dunblane and Orkney, with certain other of the nobility, came to Perth on St. Paul's day. The same day were apprehended Robert Lamb, William Anderson, James Hunter, James Raveleson, James Founleson, and Helen Stirk, his wife, and were cast that night into the Spay-tower of the said city. On the morrow, when they were brought forth, the violating of the afore-mentioned act of parliament was laid to their charge, and also their conference and assemblies in hearing and expounding the Scripture, against the said act. Robert Lamb, William Anderson, and James Raveleson were accused also for hanging up the image of St. Francis in a cord; and for eating a goose on Allhallow-Even. James Hunter, a fletcher, a simple man, and without learning, so that he could be charged with no great knowledge in doctrine, yet because he often used the company of the rest, he was accused. Helen Stirk was accused also, for that in her childbed she was not accustomed to call upon the Virgin Mary, but only upon God for Jesus Christ his sake. James Raveleson aforesaid, building a house, set upon the round of his fourth stair the three-crowned diadem of Peter carved in wood, which the cardinal took as done in mockage of his cardinal's hat; and this procured him no favour at their hands. These persons, the morrow after St. Paul's day, were condemned to death for violating the act of parliament, in conferring upon Scripture, and for eating flesh upon days forbidden. After sentence given, their hands were bound, and the men cruelly treated. Which thing the woman beholding, desired likewise to be bound for Christ's sake. There

was great intercession made for their lives to the governor, who of himself was willing that they should be delivered. But the governor was so subject to the priests, that he could not do what he would. So they were carried by a great band of armed men (for they feared rebellion in the town,) to the place of execution, which was common to all thieves, and that to make their cause appear more odious to the people.

Robert Lamb at the gallows-foot, made his exhortation to the people, desiring them to fear God, and leave the leaven of papistical abominations: and every one comforting one another, they commended themselves to God, and died constantly in the Lord. The woman desired earnestly to die with her husband, but she was not suffered; yet, following him to the place of execution, she exhorted him to perseverance and patience for Christ's sake; and parting from him with a kiss, said, "Husband, rejoice, for we have lived together many joyful days; but this day, in which we must die, ought to be most joyful unto us both, because we must have joy for ever; therefore I will not bid you good night; for we shall suddenly meet with joy in the kingdom of heaven." The woman, after that, was taken to a place to be drowned, and although she had a child sucking on her breast, this moved them not. So, after she had commended her children to the neighbours of the town, she sealed the truth by her death.

THE MARTYRDOM OF WALTER MILLE.



IN the year 1558, Walter Mille, (who in his youth had been a papist,) after he had been in Germany, and had heard the doctrine of the gospel, returned into Scotland, his native land, and laying aside all papistry and compelled chastity, married a wife; which made the bishops of Scotland suspect him of heresy. After being long watched, he was taken by two popish priests, one called sir George Traquhern, and the other sir Hugh Turry, servants to John Hamilton, bishop of St. Andrew's, and brought to St. Andrew's, and imprisoned in the castle there. Being in prison, the papists earnestly laboured to seduce him. First, they threatened him with death and corporal torments, to the intent that they might cause him to recant and forsake the truth. But seeing they could profit nothing thereby, and that he remained still firm and constant, they used fair promises, and offered him a monk's portion all the days of his life, in the abbey of Dunfermling, if he would but deny the things he had taught, and grant that they were heresy. But he despised both their threatenings and promises.

Then the bishop of St. Andrew's, with many other bishops, abbots, doctors, and others of the clergy, assem-

bled, and having consulted together, Mille was taken out of prison, and brought to the metropolitan church, where he was put in a pulpit before the bishops, to be accused, the 20th day of April. Being brought into the church, he was so weak and feeble, partly by age and travel, and partly by evil treatment, that he could not, without help, climb up into the pulpit, so that they were out of hope of hearing what he should say. But when he began, he made the church to ring and sound again, he spake with so great courage and stoutness ; insomuch that the Christians which were present, were no less rejoiced than the adversaries were confounded and ashamed. Being in the pulpit, and on his knees at prayers, sir Andrew Oliphant, one of the bishop's priests, commanded him to arise, saying, "Sir Walter Mille, arise, and answer to your articles, for you hold my lord here over long." Walter, after he had finished his prayer, answered, "We ought to obey God, rather than men : I serve one more mighty, even the omnipotent Lord. Call me Walter, and not sir Walter ; I have been over-long one of the pope's knights. Now say what thou hast to say."—Then said Oliphant, "What think you of priests' marriage?"

Mille replied, "I hold it a blessed band. Ye vow chastity, and break the same. St. Paul had rather marry than burn : the which I have done ; for God never forbade marriage to any man, of what state or degree soever he were." Oliphant said again, "Thou sayest, there be not seven sacraments." "Give me (said Mille) the Lord's-supper and baptism, and take you the rest, and part them among you. But if there be seven, why have you omitted one of them, viz. marriage?" After taxing him in several other points, to which Mille answered openly and without reserve ; Oliphant said, "Thou preachedst privately in houses, and openly in the fields." "Yes, man, (said Mille,) and on the sea also, sailing in a ship." "Wilt thou recant thy erroneous opinions? (said Oliphant.) If thou wilt not, I will pronounce sentence against thee." Mille replied, "I am accused of my life ;


I know I must die once ; and therefore, as Christ said to Judas, ‘What thou doest, do quickly.’ You shall know that I will not recant the truth ; for I am corn, and no chaff ; I will not be blown away with the wind, nor burst with the flail ; but I will abide both.” Then sir Andrew Oliphant pronounced sentence against him, that he should be delivered to the temporal judge, and be burned. But the whole town was so offended with his unjust condemnation, that the bishop’s servants could not get for their money so much as one cord to tie him to the stake, or a tar-barrel to burn him, but were constrained to cut the cords of their master’s own pavilion to serve their turn.

When all things were ready for his death, and he conveyed with armed men to the fire, Oliphant bade him pass to the stake : and he said, “Nay, but put me up with *thy* hand, and take part in my death, thou shalt see me pass up gladly ; for by the law of God I am forbidden to put hands upon myself.” Then Oliphant put him up with his hand, and he ascended gladly, saying, “I will go to the altar of God.” He then desired that he might have time to speak to the people ; which Oliphant and others of the burners denied ; saying, That he had spoken over-much ; for the bishops were altogether offended that the matter was so long continued. Then some of the young men there present, opposing the burners, bid him speak what he pleased. Then Mille, after he had made his humble supplication to God on his knees, arose, and standing upon the coals, said, “Dear friends, the cause why I suffer this day, is not for any crime laid to my charge, (although I am a miserable sinner before God,) but only for the defence of the faith of Jesus Christ, set forth in the New and Old Testament ; for which, as the faithful martyrs have offered themselves before, being assured, after the death of their bodies, of eternal felicity, so this day I praise God that he hath called me of his mercy, among the rest of his servants, to seal his truth with my life ; which, as I have received it of him, so willingly I offer it to his glory. Therefore, as you will escape the eternal

death, be no more seduced with the lies of priests, monks, friars, priors, abbots, bishops, and the rest of the sect of antichrist, but depend only upon Jesus Christ and his mercy, that ye may be delivered from condemnation."

All that while there was great mourning and lamentation of the multitude; for they, perceiving his patience, constancy, and hardiness, were not only moved and stirred up, but their hearts also were so inflamed, that he was the last martyr that died in Scotland for religion. After his prayer, he was hoisted up upon the stake, and being in the fire, he said, "Lord, have mercy on me! Pray, people, while there is time!" And so he with constancy departed.

THE MARTYRDOM OF MR. ROGERS.



MR. JOHN ROGERS, brought up in the University of Cambridge, at length was chosen and called by the Merchants' Adventurers to be their chaplain at Antwerp, whom he served to their good content many years. He chanced there to fall in company with those worthy servants of God, William Tyndale and Miles Coverdale. In conferring with them, he came to great knowledge in the gospel, insomuch that he cast off the heavy yoke of popery, and joined himself with them in that painful and

most profitable labour of translating the Bible into the English tongue. He knowing by the Scriptures, that unlawful vows may be lawfully broken, and that matrimony is honourable among all men, joined himself in matrimony, and so went to Wittenberg, in Saxony, where he, with much soberness of living, did not only increase in all good and godly learning, but also so much profited in the knowledge of the German tongue, that the charge of a congregation was committed to his cure. In which ministry he diligently and faithfully served many years, until it pleased God, by the faithful labour of king Edward, to banish popery. He then, having both a good conscience and a ready good will to help forward the work of the Lord in his native country, left Saxony, and came into England to preach the gospel. In which, after he had for a space diligently and faithfully laboured, Nicholas Ridley, then bishop of London, gave him a prebend in the cathedral church of St. Paul; and the dean and chapter chose him to be the reader of the divinity lesson there, wherein he diligently laboured, until such time as queen Mary, obtaining the crown, banished the gospel and true religion.

After the queen was come to the Tower of London, he being orderly called thereunto, made a vehement sermon at Paul's Cross, confirming such true doctrine as he and others had there taught in king Edward's days, exhorting the people constantly to remain in the same, and to beware of all idolatry and superstition. The council called him to account for his sermon; to whom he made a stout and godly answer; and yet at that time he was clearly dismissed. But after proclamation was set forth by the queen to prohibit true preaching, he was called again before the council, for they thirsted after his blood. The council commanded him as a prisoner to keep his own house, and so he did; although by fleeing, he might easily have escaped their hands; and many things there were which might have moved him thereunto. He saw the recovery of religion in England, for that present, despe-

rate : he knew he could not want a living in Germany, and he could not forget his wife and ten children. But all these things set apart, after he was called to answer in Christ's cause, he would not depart, but stoutly stood in defence of the same, and for that truth was content to hazard his life. He remained in his own house as prisoner a long time; till at length, through the procurement of Bonner, he was removed to Newgate, where he was lodged among thieves and murderers for a great space.

He was examined by the lord chancellor, and the rest of the council, the 22d of January; and again on the 28th and 29th, in the year 1555. Of all which he wrote a particular account, concluding with these words,—“The Lord grant us grace to stand together, fighting lawfully in his cause, till we are smitten down together, if the Lord's will be so to permit. For there shall not a hair of our heads perish against his will, but with his will. Whereunto the Lord grant us to be obedient unto the end. Amen. Sweet, mighty, and merciful Lord Jesus, the Son of David and of God. Amen, amen, let every true Christian say and pray.” After this his condemnation was read, mentioning but two articles, That he affirmed the Romish church to be the church of antichrist; and that he denied the reality of their sacrament.

Afterward, Mr. Rogers spoke to bishop Gardiner as follows: “Well, my lord, here I stand, before God and you, and all this honourable audience, and take him to witness, that I never willingly taught any false doctrine; and therefore have I a good conscience before God and all good men. I am sure that you and I shall come before a Judge that is righteous, before whom I shall be as good a man as you; and I nothing doubt but that I shall be found there a true member of the true catholic church of Christ, and be everlastingly saved. And as for your false church, ye need not to excommunicate me out of it. I have not been in it these twenty years, the Lord be thanked, therefore. But now ye have done what ye can, my lord, I pray you yet grant me one thing.” “What is

that?" said he. "That my poor widow, being a stranger, may speak with me so long as I live, (says Rogers;) for she hath ten children that are hers and mine, and I would counsel her what were best for her to do." "No, (said he,) she is not thy wife." "Yes, my lord, (said Rogers,) and hath been these eighteen years." "Should I grant her to be thy wife?" said the bishop. "Choose you, (says Mr. Rogers,) whether you will, or not; she shall be so nevertheless." "She shall not come at thee," said he. "Then I have tried out all your charity, (said the other.) You are highly displeased with the matrimony of priests, but you maintain open whoredom: as in Wales, where every priest hath his whore openly dwelling with him, and lying by him; even as your holy father suffereth all the priests in Germany and in France to do." Thereto Gardiner answered not, but looked as it were asquint. After this, Mr. Rogers departed, and saw him no more.

Mr. Rogers had continued a year and a half in prison with much cheerfulness; during which time he wrote much, and penned his examinations with his own hand, which had never come to light, but by a memorable providence. The book of his examinations and answers he had privily hid in a secret corner of the prison. After his death, his wife and one of her sons coming into the place where he lay, her son chanced to spie something black lying under a pair of stairs; who, willing his mother to see what it was, found it to be the book, written with his own hand, containing his examinations; in the latter end whereof was contained a propheticall fore-warning of things pertaining to the church.

Among other sayings, which may seem prophetically to be spoken of him, this is to be marked, that he spake in prison to a printer, who was then confined for the cause of religion, "Thou (said he,) shalt live to see the alteration of this religion, and the gospel to be freely preached again; and therefore have me commended to my brethren, as well in exile as others, and bid them be circumspect in displacing the papists, and put good mi-

nisters into churches, or else their end will be worse than ours." And for lack of good ministers to furnish churches, his advice was, (Mr. Hooper also agreeing to the same,) that for every ten churches, some one good and learned superintendant should be appointed, which should have under him faithful readers, such as might well be got, so that popish priests should be clean put out, and the bishop once a year should oversee the profiting of the parishes; and if the minister did not his duty, as well in profiting himself in his book, and his parishioners in good instructions, so that they might be trained by little and little to give a reckoning how they profited, then he should be expelled, and another put in his place: and the bishop should do the like with the superintendant.

During the time he remained in Newgate, he was beneficial and liberal to the prisoners; for whom he devised that he, with his fellows, should have but one meal a day; they paying, notwithstanding, for the other meals to be given to them that lacked on the other side of the prison but Alexander, their keeper, would in no case suffer that. The Sunday before he suffered, he cheerfully bade some that were present commend him to Mr. Hooper, being then underneath him, and tell him, "There was never little fellow would stick better to a man than he would stick to him;" supposing they should both be burnt together; but Mr. Rogers was burnt alone.

The 4th of February, being Monday, in the morning, he was suddenly warned by the keeper's wife of Newgate, to prepare himself for the fire: who being then sound asleep, could scarce be awaked with much shaking. At length, being raised, she bid him make haste; "Then (said he,) if it be so, I need not tie my points." And so he was had down, first to Bonner to be degraded, and put into the hands of the laity. That done, he craved of Bonner but one petition: and Bonner asking what that should be, "Nothing, (said he,) but that I may talk a few words with my wife before my burning." But that could not be obtained. Then said he, "You declare what

your charity is." When the time of his execution came, he was brought into Smithfield by Mr. Chester and Mr. Woodroofe, sheriffs of London. Mr. Woodroofe asked him, If he would recant his abominable doctrine, and his evil opinion of the sacrament of the altar. Mr. Rogers answered, "That which I have preached I will seal with my blood." "Then (said Mr. Woodroofe,) thou art an heretic." "That shall be known (said Rogers,) at the day of judgment." "Well, (said Mr. Woodroofe,) I will never pray for thee." "But I will pray for you," said Mr. Rogers; and so he was brought to the stake, (all the people wonderfully rejoicing at his constancy, with great praises and thanks to God;) and there, in the presence of Mr. Rochester, comptroller of the queen's household, sir Richard Southwell, both the sheriffs, and a wonderful number of people, he was burned to ashes, washing his hands in the flame as he was burning.

At the stake he shewed most constant patience, not using many words, for he could not be permitted; but only exhorting the people constantly to remain in that faith and true doctrine which he had taught, and for the confirmation whereof he was not only content patiently to suffer all such cruelty as had been shewed him, but also most gladly to resign up his life, and to give his flesh to the consuming fire. His pardon was brought if he would recant, but he utterly refused it. He was the first martyr of all the blessed company that suffered in queen Mary's time. His wife and children, being eleven in number, ten able to go, and one sucking on her breast, met him by the way as he went to execution. This sorrowful sight could nothing move him, but he cheerfully took his death in the defence of Christ's gospel.

THE MARTYRDOM
OF
LAURENCE SANDERS.

AFTER queen Mary, by public proclamation, had inhibited the preaching of God's Word; divers godly ministers, who had the charge of souls committed to them, did, notwithstanding, according to their bounden duty, feed their flock faithfully; not as preachers authorized by public authority, but as the private pastors of particular flocks, among whom Laurence Sanders was one, a man of worshipful parentage. His bringing up was in learning from his youth, in the school of Eaton, and at the King's-college, in Cambridge, where he continued scholar of the college three years, and there profited in knowledge and learning very much: shortly after that, he went to his parents, upon whose advice he minded to become a merchant; and he, coming up to London, was bound apprentice to sir William Chester. Yet the Lord so wrought inwardly in his heart, that he could find no liking in that vocation; but when his fellows were busily occupied about trade, he would secretly withdraw himself into some privy corner, and there fall into his solitary lamentations, as one not liking that kind of life.

It happened that his master, being a good man, and hearing his apprentice thus in his secret prayers inwardly

to mourn by himself, called him unto him to know what was the cause of his lamentation. Perceiving his mind nothing to fancy that kind of life, and his whole purpose to be bent to study and contemplation, he directed his letters to his friends, and giving him his indenture, set him free. And thus Laurence Sanders being ravished with the love of learning, and especially with the reading of God's Word, tarried not long time in merchandise, but shortly returned to Cambridge to his study; where he began to join to the Latin the study of the Greek tongue, wherein he profited in small time very much. Thereto also he added the study of the Hebrew. Then he gave himself wholly to the study of the holy Scriptures, to furnish himself for the office of a preacher. In study, he was diligent and painful; in godly life, he declared the fruits of a well exercised conscience: he prayed often, and with great fervour: in his prayers, as also at other times, he had his part of spiritual exercises, which his hearty sighing to God declared; in which, when any special assault did come, by prayer he felt present relief. His company was marvellously comfortable: for as his exercises were special teachings, so they proved singular consolations; wherein he became so expert, that within a short space he was able to comfort others which were in any affliction, by the consolation wherewith the Lord did comfort him. Thus continued he in the university, till he became master of arts, and a long space after.

In the beginning of King Edward's reign he began to preach; and was so well liked of them which had authority, that they appointed him to read a divinity lecture in the college at Fotheringay, where, by doctrine and life, he edified the godly, drew many to God's true knowledge, and stopped the mouths of the adversaries. He married about that time; and in the married estate led a life unblamable before all men. The college of Fotheringay being dissolved, he was placed to be lecturer in the minster at Litchfield; where he so behaved himself in teaching and living, that the very adversaries gave

him a good report, as well of learning as of much godliness. After a certain space, he departed from Litchfield, to a benefice in Leicestershire, called Church Langton, where he taught diligently. From thence he was called to a benefice in London, named Allhallow's, Bread Street. And even at that time began the broil about the claim that queen Mary had to the crown. In this trouble he preached at Northampton, nothing meddling with the state, but boldly uttered his conscience against popish errors, which were like to spring up again in England, as a just plague for the little love which the English nation did bear to the blessed word of God, which had been so plentifully offered unto them. The queen's men which were there, were highly displeased, and kept him among them as prisoner. But partly for love of his brethren and friends, which were chief doers for the queen among them; partly because there was no law broken by his preaching, they dismissed him. He, seeing the dreadful days at hand, inflamed with godly zeal, preached with diligence at both those benefices, as time would serve him, seeing he could resign neither of them now, but into the hand of a papist.

Thus passed he to and fro, preaching, until the proclamation before-mentioned was put forth. At which time he was at his benefice in the country, where he (notwithstanding the proclamation,) taught diligently God's truth, confirming the people therein, and arming them against false doctrine, until he was not only commanded to cease, but also with force resisted, so that he could not proceed there in preaching. Some of his friends advised him to flee out of the realm, which he refused to do. But seeing he was kept from doing good in that place, he returned to London, to visit the flock there.

On Saturday, October 14, as he was coming nigh London, sir John Mordant, a counsellor to queen Mary, overtook him, and asked him whither he went. "I have (said Sanders,) a cure in London, and now I go to instruct my people according to my duty." "If you will

follow my counsel, (quoth Mordant,) let them alone, and go not to them." To this Sanders answered, "How shall I then be discharged before God, if any be sick and desire consolation; if any want good counsel, and need instruction; or if any should slip into error, and receive false doctrine?" "Did you not (quoth Mordant,) preach such a day (and named the day,) in Bread Street, in London?" "Yes, verily, (says Sanders,) that is my cure." "I heard you myself, (says Mr. Mordant,) and will you preach there again?" "If it please you, (said Sanders,) to-morrow you may hear me again at the same place, where I will confirm, by the authority of God's word, all that I said then, and whatsoever before that time I taught them." "I would counsel you (quoth the other,) not to preach." "If you can forbid me by lawful authority, then I must obey," said Sanders. "Nay, (quoth he,) I will not forbid you, but I give you counsel." And thus entered they both the city, and departed from each other. Mr. Mordant went to give warning to Bonner, that Sanders would preach at his cure the next day. Sanders resorted to his lodging, where, because he seemed to be somewhat troubled, one which was there asked him how he did. "In very deed, (says he,) I am in prison, till I be in prison;" meaning, that his mind was unquiet until he had preached, and then he should have quietness of mind, though he were put in prison.

The next day, which was Sunday, in the forenoon he preached in his parish-church, treating on that place of St. Paul to the Corinthians, "I have coupled you to one man, that ye should be a chaste virgin unto Christ. But I fear, lest as the serpent beguiled Eve, even so you should be corrupted from the simplicity which ye had in Christ." He recited the sum of that true Christian doctrine, through which they were coupled to Christ, to receive of him free justification through faith in his blood. The papistical doctrine he compared to the serpent's deceiving; and lest they should be deceived by it, he made a comparison between the voice of God, and the

voice of the serpent. In the afternoon, he was ready in his church to have given another exhortation to his people. But the bishop of London interrupted him, by sending an officer. This officer charged him forthwith to come to the bishop his master. Thus, as the apostles were brought out of the temple, where they were teaching, unto the rulers of the priests; so was Laurence Sanders brought unto the bishop, who had in his company the aforementioned sir John Mordant, and some of his chaplains. The bishop laid to his charge, treason, for breaking the queen's proclamation; heresy and sedition for his sermon. After much talk, the bishop willed him to write what he believed of transubstantiation. L. Sanders did so, saying, "My lord, ye seek my blood, and ye shall have it: I pray God that ye may be so baptized in it, that ye may afterward lothe blood-sucking, and become another man." The bishop then sent him to the lord chancellor. But the chancellor being not at home, Sanders was constrained to tarry for him four hours, in the outer chamber, where he found a chaplain of the bishop's, with certain gentlemen playing at tables, with divers others of the same family occupied in the same exercise.

All this time, Sanders stood modestly at the skreen, bare-headed, sir John Mordant, his guide, walking up and down by him. At last, the bishop returned from court; whom, as soon as he entered, a great many suitors met and received: so that before he could get out of one house into another, half an hour was passed. At last he came into the chamber where Sanders was, and went through into another chamber; where sir John gave him a writing, containing the accusation of the said Sanders: which when he had perused, "Where is the man," said the bishop? Then Sanders, being brought forth, first lowly and meekly kneeled down before the table where the bishop sat: unto whom the bishop spake on this wise, "How happeneth it, that, notwithstanding the queen's proclamation, you have enterprised to preach?" Sanders said, "That forasmuch as he saw

perilous times at hand, he did but (according as he was admonished by Ezekiel the prophet,) exhort his flock to persevere and stand steadfastly in the doctrine which they had learned; saying also, that he was moved thereto by the place of the apostle, wherein he was commanded rather to obey God than man; and that nothing more stirred him thereunto, than his own conscience." "A goodly conscience," said the bishop. "This your conscience would make our queen a bastard. Would it not, I pray you?" Then said Sanders, "For that let them take care, whose writings are yet in the hands of men, witnessing the same, not without the shame of the author." [The bishop himself had before written and set forth in print a book, wherein he had openly declared queen Mary to be a bastard.] The bishop being touched, said, "Carry away this frenzy fool to prison." Unto whom Mr. Sanders answered, "He did give God thanks, who had given him at last a place of rest and quietness, where he might pray for the bishop's conversion." He that did lie with him afterwards in prison, reported that he heard him say, That in the time of his examination he was wonderfully comforted, insomuch, as not only in spirit, but also in body, he received a certain taste of the holy communion of saints.

Mr. Sanders continued in the Marshalsea-prison a whole year and three months. From whence he wrote to his wife as follows: "Grace, mercy, and peace in Christ our Lord. Entirely, beloved wife, even as unto my own soul and body, so do I daily in my prayers wish unto you; for I daily, twice at the least, in this sort remember you. And I doubt not but that both I and you, as we be written in the book of life, so we shall together enjoy the same everlastingly, through the grace and mercy of God, our dear Father, in his Son, our Christ. And for this present life, let us wholly appoint ourselves to the will of our good God, to glorify him either by life or death; and that same merciful Lord make us worthy to honour him either way, as pleaseth

him. Amen. I am merry, I thank my God and my Christ, in whom, and through whom, I shall, (I know,) be able to fight a good fight, and finish my course, and then receive the crown which is laid up in store for me, and all the true soldiers of Christ. Wherefore, wife, let us, in the name of our God, fight lustily against the flesh, the devil, and the world. What our harness and weapons be in this fight, look in the sixth chapter unto the Ephesians; and pray, pray, pray. I would that you make no suit for me in any wise. God send us all good speed, and a joyful meeting. I have too few friends to further me in this journey, which is indeed the greatest friendship. The blessing of God be with you all. Amen.

“ A prisoner in the Lord,

“ L. SANDERS.”

Afterward he wrote to her thus :

“ Grace and comfort in Christ Jesus, our only comfort in all extreme assaults. Amen ! Fain would this flesh make strange of that which the Spirit doth embrace : ah, Lord, how loth is this loitering sluggard to pass forth in God’s path : and were it not for the force of faith, which pulleth it forward by the rein of God’s most sweet promise, and of hope, which pricketh on behind, great dangers there were of fainting by the way. But blessed, everlastingly blessed, be that Heavenly Father of ours, who, in his Christ, our sufficient Saviour, hath vouchsafed to shine in our hearts, that he giveth us the light of the knowledge of the glory of God in the face of Jesus Christ. Wherefore, by the grace of our Christ, we shall not be wearied, neither be dismayed by this our probation through the fire of affliction, as though some strange thing had happened unto us. But by his power we shall rejoice, inasmuch as we are partakers of Christ’s passion, that when he doth appear we may be merry and glad ; knowing that ‘ our tribulation, which is momentary and light, prepareth an exceeding and an eternal weight of glory unto us, while we look not on the things which

are seen, but on the things which are not seen. They that sow in tears, shall reap in joy. For he that goeth on his way weeping, and scattering his good seed, shall doubtless come again with joy, and bring his whole sheaves with him.' Then, then shall the Lord wipe away all tears from our eyes. Then, then shall be brought to pass that saying that is written, 'Death is swallowed up in victory. Death, where is thy sting? Hell, where is thy victory? Yea, thanks be to God, who hath given us victory, through our Lord Jesus Christ. Amen.'

"He biddeth us cast our care on him, and saith, That assuredly he careth for us. And what though for a season he doth suffer us to be troubled in the troublesome tempests of temptation, and seemeth to have forgotten us? Let not us for that leave off to put our trust in him, but let us, with godly Job, conclude in ourselves, and say, 'Even though he kill me, yet will I put my trust in him.' Let us, with blessed Abraham, in hope, even contrary to hope, lean upon that our loving Lord, who though for our probation he suffereth us to be afflicted, yet 'will he not be always chiding, neither keepeth he his anger for ever: for he knoweth whereof we be made: he remembereth that we are but dust.' Wherefore, 'Look how high the heaven is in comparison of the earth, so great is his mercy towards them which fear him. Look how wide the east is from the west, so far hath he set our sins from us. Yea, like as a father pitieth his own children, even so is the Lord merciful unto them that fear him.' Oh! what great cause of rejoicing have we in our most gracious God! We cannot but burst forth into praise of such a bountiful Benefactor, and say with the same Psalmist, 'Praise the Lord, O my soul, and all that is within me praise his holy name. Praise the Lord, O my soul, and forget not all his benefits.'

"Dear wife, riches I have none to leave, wherewith to endow you after the worldly manner: but that treasure of tasting how sweet Christ is, (whereof, I thank my Christ, I do feel part, and would feel more,) that I be-

queath unto you, and to the rest of my beloved in Christ, to retain the same in heart always. Pray, pray. I am merry, and I trust I shall be merry, maugre the teeth of all the devils in hell. I utterly renounce myself, and resign myself unto my Christ, in whom I know I shall be strong, as he seeth needful. Pray, pray, pray.

“LAURENCE SANDERS.”

While he was in prison, strict charge was given to the keeper that no person should speak with him. His wife yet came to the prison gate, with her young child in her arms, to visit her husband. The keeper, though he durst not suffer her to come in, yet did he take the little babe out of her arms, and brought him to his father: Mr. Sanders seeing him, greatly rejoiced, saying, That he rejoiced more to have such a child, than he should if 2000 pounds were given him. And unto the standers by, who praised the comeliness of the child, he said, “What man, fearing God, would not lose this life, rather than by prolonging it, he should adjudge this boy to be a bastard, his wife a whore, and himself a whoremonger? Yea, if there were no other cause, for which a man of my estate should lose his life.”

At length the bishops called him, as they did the rest of his fellows, openly to be examined. Of the which examination, written by himself, the purport followeth: “Praised be our gracious God, who preserveth his from evil, and giveth them grace to avoid all such offences as might hinder his honour, or hurt his church. Amen!” Being convened before the queen’s most honourable council, sundry bishops being present, the lord chancellor began to speak as followeth: “You have been a prisoner for abominable heresies and false doctrine: yet, it is thought good that mercy should be shewed to such as seek for it. Wherefore, if you will shew yourself conformable, mercy is ready. Give us forthwith a direct answer.” Sanders replied, “My lords, may it please your honours to give me leave to answer with deliberation?” “Leave

off your painting and pride of speech," says the chancellor, "such is the fashion of you all. Answer, yea, or nay." "My lord," says Sanders, "it is no time for me to paint. And as for my pride, there is no great cause why it should be in me. My learning I confess to be but small; and as for riches, I have none at all. Notwithstanding, it behoves me to answer circumspectly, considering one of these extreme perils are like to fall upon me: the losing a good conscience, or the losing life. And I tell you the truth, I love both life and liberty, if I could enjoy them without hurt to my conscience." "Conscience!" quoth the chancellor, "you have none at all, but pride and arrogancy, dividing yourselves from the church." Sanders replied, "The Lord is the knower of all men's consciences. And whereas your lordship layeth to my charge this dividing myself from the church, I assure you, I live in the faith wherein I have been brought up since I was 14 years old: being taught that the power of the bishop of Rome is but usurped, with many other abuses springing thereof. Yea, this I have received at your hands, that are here present, as a thing agreed upon by the catholic church, and publick authority." "Yea, marry, but have you received at our hands, your heresies of the blessed sacrament of the altar?" says the chancellor. "My lord, answered he, "it is less offence to cut off an arm of a man, than to cut off the head. For the man may live though he lack an arm, and so he cannot without his head. But you, all of you, agreed to cut off the supremacy of the bishop of Rome, whom now you will have to be the head of the church again."

Then spoke the bishop of London, "If it like your lordship, I have his hand against the blessed sacrament. How say you to that?" Sanders replied, "What I have written, that I have written. Nothing have you to burden me withal for breaking your laws since they were in force." The chancellor subjoined, "Well, you are obstinate, and refuse liberty." "My lord, I may not buy

liberty at such a price," says Sanders. "But I beseech your honours, to be means to the queen's majesty for such a pardon for us, that we may live and keep our consciences unclogged, and we shall live as most obedient subjects. Otherwise, I must say for myself, that by God's grace, I will abide the extremity that man can do against me, rather than act against my conscience." "Ah, sirrah," cries the chancellor, "you will live as you list. You are not meet to live on earth : and that you shall know within these seven days ; therefore, away with him." "Welcome be it," quoth Sanders, "whatsoever the will of God shall be, either life or death. And I tell you truly, I have learned to die. But I exhort you to beware of shedding innocent blood. Truly it will cry. The Spirit of God rest upon all your honours. Amen!"

This examination being ended, the officers led him out of the place, and so stayed till the rest of his fellows were examined, that they might have them all together to prison. Laurence Sanders, standing among the officers, seeing there a great multitude of people, opened his mouth, and spake freely, warning them all of falling from Christ to antichrist ; and exhorting them by repentance to rise again, and to embrace Christ with stronger faith ; to confess him to the end, in the defiance of antichrist, sin, death, and the devil. After he was excommunicated, and delivered to the secular power, he was brought by the sheriff of London to the compters, in his own parish : whereat he greatly rejoiced, both because he found there a fellow-prisoner, with whom he had comfortable conference ; and also, because out of prison, as before out of a pulpit, he might preach to his parishioners.

The 4th day of February, the bishop of London came to the prison where he was to degrade him : which when he had done, Mr. Sanders said to him, "I thank God, I am not of your church." The day following, in the morning, the sheriff of London delivered him to certain of the queen's guard, who were appointed to carry him to the city of Coventry, there to be burned. The first night

they came to St. Alban's, where Mr. Grimoald, (a man who had more gifts than constancy,) came to speak with him. Mr. Sanders took a cup in his hand, and asked him if he would pledge him of that cup. Grimoald said, "Of that cup which is in your hand I will pledge you ; but of that other, which you mean, I will not promise." "Well," said Mr. Sanders, "my dear Lord Jesus hath begun to me a more bitter cup than mine shall be ; and shall I not pledge my most sweet Saviour. Yes, I hope."

After they were come to Coventry, the same night a poor shoemaker, who used to serve him with shoes, came to him, and said, "O, my good master, God strengthen you !" "Gramercies, good shoemaker," quoth Sanders, "and I pray thee to pray for me ; for I am the unmeetest man for this high office, that ever was appointed to it : but my gracious God and dear Father, is able to make me strong enough." That night he was put into the common goal among other prisoners, where he slept little, spending the night in prayer, and instructing of others.

The next day, the 8th of February, he was led to the place of execution in the park without the city, going in an old gown and a shirt, barefooted, and often times he fell flat on the ground and prayed. When he was come near to the place, the officer, appointed to see the execution done, said to Mr. Sanders, "Thou art one of them which mar the queen's realm with false doctrine, wherefore thou hast deserved death ; but yet, if thou wilt revoke thine heresies, the queen hath pardoned thee : if not, yonder fire is prepared for thee." To whom Mr. Sanders answered, "It is not I, nor my fellow-preachers of God's truth, that have hurt the queen's realm, but it is yourself, and such as you are, which have always resisted God's holy word ; it is you which have and do mar the queen's realm. I do hold no heresies ; but the doctrine of God, the blessed gospel of Christ, that hold I, that believe I, that have I taught, and that will I never

revoke." With that he cried, "Away with him." And away from him went Mr. Sanders, with a merry courage, towards the fire. He fell to the ground and prayed: he rose up again, and took the stake in his arms, and kissed it, saying, "Welcome the cross of Christ, welcome everlasting life:" and being fastened to the stake, and fire put to him, he slept full sweetly in the Lord.

At the beginning of queen Mary's reign, Dr. Pendleton and Mr. Sanders, men known to the world, not only to be learned, but also earnest preachers of God's word, met together in the country, where they fell to debate what was best to be done in so dangerous a season. Mr. Sanders seemed so fearful and feeble-spirited, that he shewed himself in appearance, likely either to fall quite from God and his word, which he had taught, or at least to flee the land. Dr. Pendleton took upon him to comfort Mr. Sanders, admonishing him not to forsake his flock when he had most need to defend them; neither to start aside now, having put his hand to God's plough. After which persuasions, "What, man! (added the doctor,) there is a great deal more cause in me to be afraid than you; forasmuch as you see I carry a greater mass of flesh upon my back than you do: yet I will see the uttermost drop of this grease molten away, and the last gobbet of this flesh consumed to ashes, before I will forsake God and his truth." Whereunto the other answering but little, and wishing that Almighty God would give him more strength, consented notwithstanding, though it were faintly, to join with him in the profession of the gospel, and so to go up to London, and preach the same. Whereupon they gave each other their hands.

When they were come to London, the poor, feeble, faint-hearted Sanders, by the goodness of Almighty God, boldly and stoutly confirmed his flock: on the other side, Dr. Pendleton changed his voice, preaching, instead of sound doctrine, nothing but errors and lies; advancing antichrist, and overthrowing Christ with all his might, to

the great offence of his brethren, the hurt of his flock, and the utter undoing of his own soul. Wherefore let him that standeth take heed he fall not : and let us pray continually to Almighty God, though we have faith, that he will help and increase our faith, that in him it may be made strong.

THE MARTYRDOM
OF
MR. JOHN HOOPER,
BISHOP OF GLOUCESTER.

JOHN HOOPER, student and graduate in the University of Oxford, after the study of the sciences, wherein he had abundantly profited, through God's secret vocation was stirred with fervent desire to the love and knowledge of the Scriptures. In the searching whereof, as there lacked in him no diligence joined with earnest prayer; so neither was wanting unto him the grace of the Holy Ghost to open unto him the light of true divinity.

Mr. Hooper, growing more and more, by God's grace, in ripeness of spiritual understanding, and shewing withal a fervent spirit, about the beginning of the six articles, in the time of King Henry VIII. fell into the displeasure of certain rabbins in Oxford, who by and by began to stir coals against him, whereby he was compelled to leave the University; and so removing from thence, he was retained in the house of sir Thomas Arundel, as his steward, till

sir Thomas having intelligence of his opinions, which he in no case favoured, though he exceedingly favoured the person and conditions of the man, found means to send him in a message to the bishop of Winchester, writing privily to the bishop by conference, to do some good upon him, but in any case to send home his servant again. Winchester, after long conference with Mr. Hooper, four or five days together, when he at length perceived that he could not do that which he thought to him, according to Mr. Arundel's request, sent home his servant, commending his learning and wit, but yet bearing in his breast a grudge against him.

Not long after, intelligence was given to Mr. Hooper to provide for himself, for danger was working against him. Whereupon, leaving Mr. Arundel's house, he took his journey to the sea-side, and went to France. Being at Paris, he tarried there not long, but in a short time returned into England, and was retained of Mr. Sentlow, till he was again molested: whereby he was compelled to take to the seas again, and so he escaped, (although not without extreme peril of drowning,) through France to the higher parts of Germany. Where, entering into an acquaintance with the learned men, he was of them lovingly entertained, both at Basil, and especially at Zurich, of Mr. Bullinger, being his singular friend. Here he married his wife, who was a Burgundian, and applied very studiously to the Hebrew tongue. At length, when God saw good, Mr. Hooper, seeing such a time and occasion, offered to help forward the Lord's work, to the uttermost of his ability. And so coming to Mr. Bullinger, and others of his acquaintance in Zurich, to give them thanks for their kindness and humanity towards him, he took his leave, assuring them, "You shall hear from me, and I will write to you from time to time how it goes with me. But the last news of all I shall not be able to write; for, (said he, taking Mr. Bullinger by the hand,) where I shall take most pains, there shall you hear that I am burned to ashes."

When he had taken his farewell of Mr. Bullinger, and his friends in Zurich, he came into England in the reign of King Edward VI. where, coming to London, he used continually to preach, most times twice, at least once every day. In his sermons he sharply inveighed against the iniquity of the world, and corrupt abuses of the church. The people in great companies daily came to hear him; insomuch, that often when he was preaching, the church would be so full that none could enter further than the doors thereof. In his doctrine he was earnest, in speech eloquent, in the Scriptures perfect, in pains indefatigable. Besides his other gifts, this is extraordinary, that even as he began, so he continued unto his life's end. For neither could his labour and diligence break him, neither promotion change him, neither dainty fare corrupt him. His life was so pure and good, that no kind of slander, (although divers were propagated,) could fasten any fault upon him. He was of body strong, his health whole and sound, his wit very pregnant, his invincible patience able to sustain whatsoever adversity could do. He was constant of judgment, a good justice, spare of diet, more spare of words, and sparest of time. In house-keeping very liberal, and sometimes more free than his living would allow. Briefly, of all those virtues and qualities required of St. Paul in a good bishop, in his epistle to Timothy, I know not one lacking in him. He bare in countenance and talk always, a certain severe and grave grace, which might peradventure have been wished sometimes to have been a little more popular; but he himself best knew what he had to do. After he had thus practised this popular and common kind of preaching, at length, he was called to preach before the king, and soon after made bishop of Gloucester. In that office he continued two years, and behaved himself so well, that his very enemies, (except it were for his good doings, and sharp correction of sin,) could find no fault with him.

But I cannot tell what unlucky contention concerning the apparel of bishops, began to disturb the good be-

ginning of the godly bishop. This he could in no wise be persuaded to wear. For this cause he made supplication to the king's majesty, most humbly desiring his highness, either to discharge him of his bishopric, or else to dispense with him for such ceremonial orders. Whose petition the king immediately granted. Nevertheless the bishops contended, that the fault was in the abuse, and not in the use of the things, and that his stubbornness in refusing the habit was intolerable. But the contending parties, afterwards being in prison for the truth's sake, reconciled themselves with most godly agreement, as appeareth by the following letter from bishop Ridley to the bishop of Gloucester.

“ To my dear Brother, and reverend Fellow-elder in Christ, John Hooper, grace and peace.

“ My dearly beloved brother, and fellow-elder, whom I reverence in the Lord, pardon me, I beseech you, that hitherto, since your captivity and mine, I have not saluted you by my letters : I confess, I have received from you (such was your gentleness,) two letters at sundry times ; but yet at such time as I could not be suffered to write to you again ; or if I might, I was in doubt how my letters might safely come into your hands. But now, my dear brother, forasmuch as I understand by your works, that we thoroughly agree in those things, which are the substantial points of our religion, against which the world so furiously rageth, howsoever in time past, by certain circumstances of religion, your wisdom, and my simplicity have a little jarred, each of us following the abundance of his own sense and judgment ; now, I say, be you assured, that even with my whole heart, God is my witness, in the bowels of Christ, I love you in the truth, and for the truth's sake which abideth in us, and, as I am persuaded, shall, by the grace of God, abide in us for evermore. And because the world busily conspireth against Christ our Saviour, with all possible force

and power, (exalting high things against the knowledge of God,) let us join hands together in Christ, and, if we cannot overthrow, yet to our power, and as much as in us lieth, let us shake these strong holds, not with carnal, but with spiritual weapons: and withal, brother, let us prepare ourselves for the day of our dissolution, by the which, after the short time of this bodily affliction, by the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, we shall triumph together with him in eternal glory.

“ I pray you, brother, salute in my name, your reverend fellow-prisoner, and venerable father, D. C. by whom, since the first day that I heard of his most godly constancy, in confessing the truth of the gospel, I have conceived great consolation and joy in the Lord. For the integrity and uprightness of that man, his gravity and innocency, all England, I think, hath known long ago. Blessed be God, therefore, which in such abundance of iniquity and decay of all godliness, hath given unto us, in his reverend old age, such a witness for the truth of his gospel. Miserable and hard-hearted is he, whom the constant confession of so worthy, so grave and innocent a man, will not move to acknowledge the truth of God. It shall be to me great joy to hear of your constancy and fortitude in the Lord’s quarrel. And albeit I have not hitherto written unto you, yet have I twice, as I could, sent unto you my mind, touching the matter which in your letters you have required to know. Neither can I yet, brother, be otherwise persuaded: I see methinks so many perils, whereby I am earnestly moved to counsel you not to hasten the publishing of your works, for I fear greatly, lest by this occasion, both your mouth should be stopped hereafter, and all things taken away from the rest of the prisoners, whereby, (otherwise,) if it should so please God, they might be able to do good to many, Farewell in the Lord, my most dear brother, and if there be any more in prison with you for Christ’s sake, I beseech you, salute them in my name. To whose prayers I do most humbly and

heartily commend myself and my fellow-prisoners in the Lord; and yet once again, and for ever in Christ, my most dear brother, farewell.

“ N. RIDLEY.”

Mr. Hooper, after all these tumults, at length entering into his diocese, did there employ his time, which the Lord lent him under King Edward's reign, with such diligence, as may be a spectacle to all bishops, which shall ever hereafter succeed him; so careful was he in his cure, that he left neither pains untaken, nor ways unsought, how to train up the flock of Christ in the true word of salvation, continually labouring in the same. He abhorred nothing more than gain, labouring always to save and preserve the souls of his flock, and so ruling his diocese, as though he had in charge but one family. No father in his household, no gardener in his garden, nor husbandman in his vineyard, was more occupied, than he in his diocese, among his flock, going about his towns and villages in teaching and preaching to the people there. The time that he had to spare from preaching, he bestowed either in hearing publick causes, or else in private study, prayer, and visiting of schools: with his continual doctrine he adjoined due and discreet correction, not so severe to any, as to them who, for abundance of riches, thought they might do what they listed. He spared no kind of people, but was indifferent to all men, as well rich as poor. How virtuous and good a bishop he was, may be conceived evidently by this, that even as he was hated of none but of them which were evil, so the worst of them all could not reprove his life in any one point.

There appeared in him at home, no less example of a worthy prelate's life. For though he bestowed the most part of his care upon the congregation of Christ, for which also he spent his blood: yet there lacked no provision to bring up his own children in learning and good manners; insomuch that it could not be discerned whether

he deserved more praise for his fatherly usage at home, or for his bishop-like doings abroad. For every where he kept one religion, in one uniform doctrine and integrity. So that, if you entered into the bishop's palace, you would suppose yourself to have entered into some church or temple. In every corner thereof there was some smell of virtue, good example, honest conversation, and reading of the holy Scriptures. There was not to be seen in his house any courtly rioting or idleness; no pomp at all, no dishonest or idle word could be heard there. As for the revenues of his bishopric, he pursed nothing, but bestowed it in hospitality. Twice I was at his house, where, in his common hall, I saw a table spread with good store of meat, and beset full of poor folk: and I, asking his servants what this meant, they told me, that every day their master's manner was, to have to dinner a certain number of poor folk of the said city by course, who were served by four at a mess, and when they were served, (being before examined by him or his deputies, of the Lord's prayer, the articles of their faith, and ten commandments,) then he himself sat down to dinner, and not before. After this manner, Mr. Hooper executed his office of a pastor, by the space of two years or more: and would God, that all other bishops would use the like diligence, care and observance in their function. After this, queen Mary being crowned, this good bishop was one of the first that was sent for to London. He was not ignorant of the evils that would happen, (for he was admonished by his friends to get away,) yet he would not, but said, "Once I did flee, but now, because I am called to this place, I am thoroughly persuaded to tarry, and to live and die with my sheep."

When, at the day of his appearance, which was the 1st of September, he was come to London, before he could come to Bonner, he was intercepted, and commanded violently against his will to appear before the queen and her council, and by them he was commanded

to ward. The next year, March 19, 1554, he was called again to appear before Winchester, and other the queen's commissioners : where, what for the bishop, and what for the unruly multitude, when he could not be permitted to plead his cause, he was deprived of his bishopric.

Mr. Hooper's Entertainment in the Fleet, written with his own hand, the 7th of January, 1554.

“ The 1st of September, 1553, I was committed to the Fleet from Richmond, to have the liberty of the prison ; and within six days after I paid for my liberty five pounds sterling to the warden : who, immediately upon the payment thereof, complained unto Stephen Gardiner, bishop of Winchester ; and so I was committed to close prison one quarter of a year in the tower-chamber of the Fleet, and used very extremely. Then, by the means of a good gentlewoman, I had liberty to come down to dinner and supper, not suffered to speak to any of my friends ; but as soon as dinner and supper were finished, to repair to my chamber again. Notwithstanding, whilst I came down thus to dinner and supper, the warden and his wife picked quarrels with me, and complained untruly of me to their great friend the bishop of Winchester.

“ After a quarter of a year, Babington, the warden, and his wife, quarrelled with me for the mass ; and thereupon the warden resorted to the bishop of Winchester, and obtained an order to put me into the wards, where I have continued a long time, having nothing appointed me for my bed but a little pad of straw, and a rotten covering, the chamber being vile and stinking ; on one side of which is the sink and filth of the house, and on the other side the town ditch, so that the stench of the house hath infected me with sundry diseases. During which time I was sick ; and the doors, bars, hasps, and chains being all closed and made fast upon me, I have mourned, called, and cried for help : but the warden, when he hath known me many times ready to die, and

when the poor men of the wards have called to help me, hath commanded the doors to be kept fast, and charged that none of his men should come to me, saying, "Let him alone, it were a good riddance of him." I paid always like a baron, to the said warden, as well in fees as for my board, which was 20 shillings a week, besides my man's table, until I was deprived of my bishopric, and since that time I have paid him as the best gentleman doth in his house; yet hath he used me worse, and more vilely than the veriest slave that ever came to the Hall Commons. The said warden hath also imprisoned my man, William Downton, and stripped him of his clothes to search for letters, and, although he found none, but only a little remembrance of good people's names that gave me their alms to relieve me in prison; and to undo them also, the warden delivered the same bill unto Stephen Gardiner, God's enemy and mine. I have suffered imprisonment almost 18 months; my goods, living, friends, and comfort being taken from me. The queen owing me, by just account, 80 pounds or upwards, hath put me in prison, and gives nothing to support me; neither is there any one suffered to come to me, whereby I might have relief. I am with a wicked man and woman, so that I see no remedy, (saving God's help,) but I shall be cast away in prison before I come to judgment. But I commit my just cause to God, whose will be done, whether it be by life or death."

The 22d of January following, 1555, Babington, the warden of the Fleet, was commanded to bring Mr. Hooper before the bishop of Winchester, with other bishops and commissioners, at Winchester-House, in St. Mary Overy's. The bishop of Winchester, in the name of himself and the rest, moved Mr. Hooper to return to the unity of the catholic church, and to acknowledge the pope to be head of the church; saying, Mercy was ready to be shewn to him, if he would submit to the pope's holiness. Mr. Hooper answered, That forasmuch as the

pope taught doctrine altogether contrary to the doctrine of Christ, he was not worthy to be accounted a member of Christ's church, much less to be head thereof; wherefore, he would, in no wise, submit to any such usurped jurisdiction, neither esteemed he the church, whereof they called him head, to be the catholic church of Christ. Howbeit, (saith he,) if in any point, to me unknown, I have offended the queen's majesty, I will most humbly submit myself to her mercy, if mercy may be had with safety of conscience. Answer was made, that the queen would shew no mercy to the pope's enemies. Whereupon Babington was commanded to bring him to the Fleet again.

The 28th of January, Winchester and other commissioners sat in judgment at St. Mary Overy's, where Hooper appeared before them again. After much reasoning, he was commanded aside, till Mr. Rogers had been likewise examined. Examinations being ended, the two sheriffs of London were commanded, about four o'clock, to carry them to the compter in Southwark, there to remain till the morrow at nine o'clock, to see whether they would come home to the catholic church. So Mr. Hooper went before with one of the sheriffs, and Mr. Rogers came after with the other; and being out of the church-door, Mr. Hooper looked back, and stayed a little, till Mr. Rogers drew near, unto whom he said, "Come, brother Rogers, must we two take this matter first in hand, and begin to fry these faggots?" "Yea, sir, (said Mr. Rogers,) by God's grace." "Doubt not, (said Mr. Hooper,) but God will give strength." So going forwards, there was such a press of people in the streets, which rejoiced at their constancy, that they had much trouble to pass. By the way, the sheriff said to Mr. Hooper, "I wonder that you were so hasty with my lord chancellor, and did use no more patience." He answered, "Mr. Sheriff, I was not at all impatient, although I was earnest in my Master's cause, and it

standeth me so in hand, for it goeth upon life and death, not the life and death of this life only, but also of the world to come." Then they were committed to the keeper of the compters, and appointed to several chambers, with orders that they should not speak one with another, neither any be permitted to come to them.

The day following, the 29th, at the hour appointed, they were brought again by the sheriffs before the commissioners in the church. After long talk, when they perceived Mr. Hooper would by no means submit to them, they condemned him to be degraded, and read unto him his condemnation. That done, Mr. Rogers was brought before them, and in like manner treated; and so they delivered both of them to the secular power, the two sheriffs of London, who were willed to carry them to the Clink, a prison not far from the bishop of Winchester's house, and there to remain till night. When it was dark, Mr. Hooper was led by one of the sheriffs, with many bills and weapons, first through the bishop of Winchester's house, and so over London-Bridge, through the city, to Newgate. Some of the sergeants were ordered to go before, and put out the candles of those, who used to sit with lights in the street; fearing that the people would have made some attempt to have taken him away from them by force. But notwithstanding this, the people having some knowledge of his coming, many of them came forth of their doors with lights, and saluted him, praising God for his constancy in the true doctrine which he had taught them, and desiring God to strengthen him in the same to the end. Mr. Hooper passed by, and required the people to make their earnest prayers to God for him; and so went through Cheapside to the place appointed, and was delivered close prisoner to the keeper of Newgate, where he remained six days, no body being permitted to come to him. Only Bonner of London, and others at his appointment, as Fecknam, Chedsey, and Harpsfield, resorted divers times unto him, to try if

by any means they could persuade him to be a member of their church. All the ways they could devise, they attempted. For, besides disputation, they used all outward gentleness and significations of friendship, with many great proffers of worldly advantages, not omitting most grievous threatenings, if with gentleness they could not prevail; but they found him always the same man, steadfast and immoveable. When they perceived that they could by no means reclaim him, then went they about by false reports of his recantation, to bring him, and the doctrine of Christ which he professed, out of credit with the people. He was not a little grieved that the people should give so light credit unto false rumours, as it may appear by a letter which he wrote upon that occasion, as follows :

“ THE grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with all them that unfeignedly look for the coming of our Saviour Christ. Amen. Dear brethren and sisters in the Lord, and my fellow-prisoners for the cause of God’s gospel ; I much rejoice and give thanks unto God for your constancy and perseverance in affliction, unto whom I wish continuance unto the end. Yet such is the report abroad, (as I am credibly informed,) that I John Hooper, a condemned man for the cause of Christ, should now, after sentence of death, (being prisoner in Newgate, and looking daily for execution,) recant and abjure that which heretofore I have preached. And this talk ariseth of this, that the bishop of London and his chaplains resort unto me. Doubtless, if our brethren were as godly as I could wish them, they would think, that in case I refused to talk with them, they might have just occasion to say, that I were unlearned, and durst not speak with learned men, or else proud, and disdained to speak with them. Therefore, to avoid such suspicion of both, I have, and do daily speak with them when they come, not doubting but that they report, that I am neither proud nor unlearned. And I would wish all men to do as I do

in this point. For I fear not their arguments, neither is death terrible to me ; praying you to make true report of the same, and that I am more confirmed in the truth, which I have preached heretofore, by their coming. Therefore ye that can send to the weak brethren, pray them that they trouble me not with such reports of recantations. For I have hitherto left all things, and suffered great pains and imprisonment, and I thank God I am as ready to suffer death as a mortal man can be. It were better for them to pray for us, than to credit or report such rumours. We have enemies enough of such as know not God : but the false report of weak brethren is a double cross. I wish you eternal salvation in Jesus Christ, and also require your continual prayers, that he which hath begun in us, may continue it to the end. I have taught the truth with my tongue, and with my pen heretofore, and hereafter shall confirm it, by God's grace, with my blood. Forth of Newgate, the 2d of February, 1554.

“ Your brother in Christ,

“ JOHN HOOPER.”

Upon Monday morning, the bishop of London came to Newgate, and there degraded Mr. Hooper. After the degradation of bishop Hooper and Mr. Rogers, they were delivered to the sheriffs, Mr. Woodroofe, and sir William Chester ; who, receiving first Mr. Rogers at the hands of the bishop, led him away with them to the place of execution. The same day at night, bishop Hooper's keeper gave him notice, that he would be sent to Gloucester to suffer death : whereat he greatly rejoiced, lifting up his eyes and hands unto heaven, and praised God that he saw it good to send him amongst the people, over whom he was pastor, there to confirm, with his death, the truth he had taught them ; not doubting but the Lord would give him strength to perform the same to his glory. And immediately he sent to his servant's house for his boots, spurs, and cloak, that he might be in readi-

ness to ride when he should be called. The day following, about four in the morning, before day, the keeper, with others, came to him and searched him, and the bed wherein he lay, to see if he had written any thing ; and then he was led by the sheriffs of London and their officers forth of Newgate, to a place appointed, not far from St. Dunstan's church, in Fleet Street, where six of the queen's guards were appointed to receive him, and to carry him to Gloucester, there to be delivered unto the sheriff, who, with the lord Shandois, Mr. Wicks, and other commissioners, were appointed to see execution done. The guard brought him to the Angel, where he brake his fast, eating more liberally than he had used to do a good while before. About break of day he took horse cheerfully ; wearing a hood upon his head under his hat that he might not be known ; and so he took his journey joyfully towards Gloucester ; and always by the way, the guard learned of him where he was accustomed to bait or lodge, and ever carried him to another inn.

On the Thursday following he came to a town in his diocese, called Cirencester, 15 miles from Gloucester, about eleven o'clock, and there dined at a woman's house which had always hated the truth, and spoken all evil of Mr. Hooper. This woman being informed of the cause of his coming, shewed him all the friendship she could, and lamented his case with tears ; confessing, that before she had often reported, that if he were put to the trial he would not stand to his doctrine. After dinner he rode forwards, and came to Gloucester about five o'clock. A mile without the town abundance of people were assembled, who cried and lamented his estate ; insomuch that one of the guard rode post into the town, to require aid of the mayor and sheriffs, fearing lest he should have been taken from them. The officers and their retinue repaired to the gate with their weapons, and commanded the people to keep their houses ; but there was no man that once gave the least signification of any rescue or violence. So was he lodged at one Ingram's house in

Gloucester, and that night, (as he had done all the way,) he eat his meat quietly, and slept his first sleep soundly, as it was reported by them of the guard. After his first sleep he continued in prayer until the morning; and then he desired that he might go into the next chamber, (for the guard were also in the chamber where he lay,) that there being alone, he might pray and talk with God. So that all the day, saving a little at meat, and when he talked at any time with such as the guard suffered to speak with him, he bestowed in prayer.

Amongst those that spake with him, sir Anthony Kingston was one. Who, seeming in time past his friend, was appointed by the queen's letters to be one of the commissioners, to see execution done upon him. Mr. Kingston being brought into the chamber, found him at prayers: and as soon as he saw Mr. Hooper he burst forth into tears. Mr. Hooper at first knew him not. Then said Mr. Kingston, "Why, my lord, do you not know an old friend, Anthony Kingston?" "Yes, Mr. Kingston, I now know you well, and am glad to see you in health, and do praise God for the same." "But I am sorry to see you in this case, (replied Kingston,) for, as I understand, you are come hither to die. But, alas, consider that life is sweet, and death is bitter. Therefore, seeing life may be had, desire to live; for life hereafter may do good." "Indeed it is true, Mr. Kingston, (said he,) I am come hither to end this life, because I will not gainsay the truth that I have taught amongst you: and I thank you for your friendly counsel, although it be not so friendly as I could have wished. True it is, that death is bitter, and life is sweet: but, alas, consider that the death to come is more bitter, and the life to come more sweet. Therefore, for the desire and love I have to the one, and the terror and fear of the other, I do not so much regard this death, nor esteem this life: but have settled myself, through the strength of God's Holy Spirit, patiently to pass through the torments of the fire now prepared for me, rather than deny the truth of his word, desiring you

and others, in the mean time, to commend me to God's mercy in your prayers." "Well, my lord, (says Kingston,) then I perceive there is no remedy; and therefore I will take my leave: and I thank God that ever I knew you; for God did appoint you to call me, being a lost child: and by your good instructions, whereas before I was both an adulterer and a fornicator, God hath brought me to the forsaking and detesting of the same." "If you have had the grace so to do, (says Mr. Hooper,) I praise God for it: and if you have not, I pray God you may; and that you may continually live in his fear." After some other words, the one took leave of the other. Mr. Kingston wept bitterly: the tears also trickled down Mr. Hooper's cheeks. At which departure, Mr. Hooper told him, that all the troubles he had sustained in prison, had not caused him to shew so much sorrow.

The same day, in the afternoon, a blind boy, after long intercession made to the guard, obtained license to be brought unto Mr. Hooper. The boy not long afore had suffered imprisonment for confessing of the truth. Mr. Hooper, after he had examined him of his faith, and cause of his imprisonment, beheld him steadfastly, and (the water appearing in his eyes,) said unto him, "Ah, poor boy, God hath taken from thee thy outward sight, for what reason he best knoweth: but he hath given thee another sight much more precious; for he hath endued thy soul with the *eye of faith*. God give thee grace, continually to pray unto him, that thou lose not *that* sight."

The same night he was committed by the guard, their commission being expired, to the sheriffs of Gloucester. The name of the one was Jenkins, of the other Band, who, with the mayor and aldermen, repaired to Mr. Hooper's lodging; and at the first meeting saluted him, and took him by the hand. Unto whom Mr. Hooper spake on this manner. "Mr. Mayor, I give most hearty thanks to you, and to the rest of your brethren, that you have vouch-

safed to take me, a prisoner and a condemned man, by the hand ; whereby, to my rejoicing, it is apparent that your old love and friendship is not altogether extinguished : and I trust also, that all the things I have taught you in times past, are not utterly forgotten. For the which true doctrine, because I will not now account it falsehood and heresy, I am sent hither, (as you know,) by the queen's commandment, to die ; and am come where I taught it, to confirm it with my blood. And now, Mr. Sheriffs, I understand by these good men, (meaning the guard,) at whose hands I have found as much favour and gentleness by the way hitherward, as a prisoner could reasonably require, for the which also I most heartily thank them, that I am committed to your custody, as unto them that must see me brought to-morrow to the place of execution. My request, therefore, to you shall be only, that there may be a quick fire, shortly to make an end ; and in the mean time I will be as obedient unto you, as yourselves would wish. If you think I do amiss in any thing, hold up your finger, and I have done. For I am not come hither as one compelled to die : for it is well known, I might have had my life, with worldly gain ; but as one willing to give my life for the truth ; rather than to consent to the wicked religion of the bishop of Rome, received and set forth by the magistrates in England, to God's high displeasure and dishonour ; and I trust, by God's grace, to-morrow to die a faithful servant of God, and a true obedient subject to the queen."

Thus spake Mr. Hooper to the mayor, sheriffs, and aldermen, whereat many of them mourned and lamented. Notwithstanding, the two sheriffs went aside to consult, and were determined to have lodged him in the common goal of the town, called Northgate, if the guard had not made earnest intercession for him : who declared at large, how quietly, mildly, and patiently he had behaved himself in the way ; adding thereto, that any child might

keep him well enough; and that they themselves would sooner take pains to watch with him, than he should be sent to the common prison. So it was at length determined, he should still remain in Robert Ingram's house; and the sheriffs and sergeants, and other officers, watched with him that night themselves. His desire was, that he might go to bed that night betimes; saying, that he had many things to remember · and so he did at five o'clock, and slept one sleep soundly; and bestowed the rest of the night in prayer. After he got up in the morning, he desired that no man should be suffered to come into the chamber, that he might be alone till the hour of execution.

About eight o'clock came sir Richard Bridges, lord Shandois, with a great band of men, sir Anthony Kingston, sir Edmund Bridges, and other commissioners, appointed to see execution done. At nine of the clock, Mr. Hooper was willed to prepare himself; for the time was at hand. Immediately he was brought down from his chamber by the sheriffs, who were accompanied with bills and other weapons. When he saw the multitude of weapons; he spake to the sheriffs: "Mr. Sheriffs, I am no traitor, neither needed you to have made such a business to bring me to the place where I must suffer: for if ye had willed me, I would have gone alone to the stake, and have troubled none of you all." Afterward, looking about upon the multitude of people that were assembled, (being by estimation to the number of 7000, for it was market-day, and many also came to see his behaviour at his death,) he spake unto those that were about him, saying, "Alas! why be these people assembled and come together? Peradventure, they think to hear something of me now, as they have in times past; but, alas! speech is prohibited me. Notwithstanding the cause of my death is well known unto them. When I was appointed here to be their pastor, I preached unto them true and sincere doctrine, and that out of the word of God: because I

will not now account the same heresy and untruth, this kind of death is prepared for me."

So he went forward, led between the two sheriffs, (as it were a lamb to the place of slaughter,) in a gown of his host's, his hat upon his head, and a staff in his hand to stay himself withal. For the pain of the *sciatica*, which he had taken in prison, caused him somewhat to halt. All the way, being straitly charged not to speak, he could not be perceived once to open his mouth; but beholding the people all the way, who mourned bitterly for him, he would sometimes lift up his eyes towards heaven, and look very cheerfully upon such as he knew: and he was never known, during the time of his being amongst them, to look with so cheerful and ruddy a countenance as he did at that present. When he came to the place where he was to die, he beheld smilingly the stake and preparation made for him, which was near to the great elm-tree over against the college of priests, where he was wont to preach. The place round about, the houses, and the boughs of the tree, were full of people; and in the chamber over the college-gate, stood the priests of the college. Then he kneeled down (forasmuch as he could not be suffered to speak to the people,) to prayer, and beckoned six or seven times unto one whom he knew well, to hear the said prayer, to make report thereof in time to come, pouring tears upon his shoulders and in his bosom, who gave attentive ears unto the same: the which prayer he made upon the creed, wherein he continued the space of half an hour. After he was entered into his prayer, a box was brought and laid before him upon a stool, with his pardon from the queen, if he would turn. At the sight whereof he cried, "If you love my soul, away with it; if you love my soul, away with it." The box being taken away, the lord Shandois said, "Seeing there is no remedy, despatch him quickly." Mr. Hooper said, "Good, my lord, I trust your lordship will give me leave to make an end of my prayers."

Then said the lord Shandois to sir Edmund Bridges's son, who gave ear to Mr. Hooper's prayer, at his request, "Edmund, take heed that he do nothing but pray, if he do, tell me, and I will quickly despatch him." Whilst this talk was, there stepped one or two uncalled, who heard him speak the following words, "Lord, I am hell, but thou art heaven; I am a sink of sin, but thou art a gracious God, and a merciful Redeemer. Have mercy therefore upon me, most miserable offender, after thy great mercy, and according to thine inestimable goodness. Thou art ascended into heaven, receive me to be partaker of thy joys, where thou sittest in equal glory with thy Father. For well knowest thou, Lord, wherefore I am come hither to suffer, and why the wicked do persecute thy poor servant; not for my sins and transgressions committed against thee, but because I will not allow their wicked doings, to the denial of the knowledge of thy truth, wherewith it did please thee by thy Holy Spirit to instruct me; the which, with as much diligence as a poor wretch might, being thereto called, I have set forth to thy glory. And well seest thou, my Lord and God, what terrible pains and cruel torments are prepared for thy creature: such, Lord, as without thy strength, none is able to bear, or patiently to pass. But all things, that are impossible with man, are possible with thee. Therefore strengthen me of thy goodness, that in the fire I break not the rules of patience; or else assuage the terror of the pains, as shall seem most to thy glory."

As soon as the mayor espied these men, who made report of the former words, they were commanded away, and not suffered to hear any more. Prayer being done, he prepared himself for the stake, and put off his host's gown, and delivered it to the sheriffs, requiring them to see it restored unto the owner, and put off the rest of his clothes, unto his doublet and hose, wherein he would have burned. But the sheriffs would not permit that, such was their greediness, unto whose pleasures he obediently submitted himself; and his doublet, hose, and

waistcoat were taken off. Then being in his shirt, he took a point from his hose himself, and trussed his shirt between his legs, where he had a pound of gunpowder in a bladder, and under each arm the like quantity, delivered him by the guard. So desiring the people to say the Lord's prayer with him, and to pray for him, (who performed it with tears, during the time of his pains,) he went to the stake. When he was at the stake, three irons, made to bind him to the stake, were brought; one for his neck, another for his middle, and the third for his legs. But he refusing them said, "Ye have no need thus to trouble yourselves. For I doubt not but God will give strength sufficient to abide the extremity of the fire, without bands: notwithstanding, suspecting the weakness of the flesh, but having assured confidence in God's strength, I am content ye do as ye shall think good." So the hoop of iron prepared for his middle was brought, which being somewhat too short, (for his belly had swoln with imprisonment,) he shrunk, and put in his belly with his hand, until it was fastened; and when they offered to have bound his neck and legs with the other two hoops of iron, he said, "I am well assured I shall not trouble you." Thus being ready, he looked upon the people, of whom he might be well seen, (for he was tall, and stood also on an high stool,) and beheld round about him; and in every corner there was nothing to be seen but weeping and sorrowful people. Then, lifting up his eyes and hands to heaven, he prayed to himself. Presently he that was appointed to make the fire came to him, and asked him forgiveness. Of whom he asked, "Why he should forgive him?" saying, "that he knew no offence he had committed against him." "O sir," said the man, "I am appointed to make the fire." "Therein," said Mr. Hooper, "thou dost nothing offend me; God forgive thee thy sins; and do thine office I pray thee." Then the reeds were cast up, and he received two bundles of them in his own hands, embraced them, kissed them, and put under either arm one of them, and shewed with


his hand how the rest should be bestowed, and pointed to the place where any did lack.

Anon commandment was given, that the fire should be set to, and so it was. But because there were as many green faggots as two horses could carry, it kindled not soon, and was a pretty while also before it took the reeds. At length it burned about him, but the wind having full strength, (it was a lowering and cold morning,) it blew the flame from him, so that he was in a manner no more than scorched by the fire. Within a space, a few dry faggots were brought, and a new fire kindled therewith, for there were no more reeds, and that burned at the nether part, but had small power above, because of the wind, saving that it did burn his hair, and scorch his skin a little. In the time of which fire, even as at the first flame, he prayed, saying mildly, and not very loud, but as one without pain, "O Jesus, Son of David, have mercy upon me, and receive my soul." After the second was spent, he wiped both his eyes with his hands, and beholding the people, he said, with an indifferent loud voice, "For God's love, good people, let me have more fire." All this while his nether parts did burn; but the faggots were so few, that the flame did not burn strongly at his upper parts. The third fire was kindled within a while after, which was more extreme than the other two; and then the bladders of gunpowder brake, which did him no good, they were so placed, and the wind had such power. In the fire he prayed with somewhat of a loud voice, "Lord Jesus, have mercy upon me; Lord Jesus, have mercy upon me; Lord Jesus, receive my spirit." And these were the last words he was heard to utter. But when he was black in the mouth, and his tongue swoln, that he could not speak, yet his lips went till they were shrunk to the gums; and he knocked his breast with his hands, until one of his arms fell off, and then knocked still with the other, (whilst water and blood dropped out at his fingers' ends,) until by renewing of the fire his strength was

gone, and his hand did cleave fast to the iron on his breast. So immediately bowing forwards, he yielded up his spirit.

Thus he was three quarters of an hour or more in the fire. Even as a lamb he bore the extremity thereof, neither moving forwards nor backwards, nor to any side; but having his nether parts burned, and his bowels fallen out, he died as quietly as a child in his bed: and he now reigneth as a blessed martyr, in the joys of heaven.

THE HISTORY OF DR. ROWLAND TAYLOR.



THE town of Hadley, in Suffolk, was one of the first that received the word of God in all England, through the preaching of Mr. Bilney: by whose industry the gospel of Christ had such success, and took such root there, that a great number in that parish became exceedingly well learned in the holy Scriptures, as well women as men. Their children and servants were also trained so diligently in the knowledge of God's word, that the whole town seemed rather an university of the learned, than a town of cloth-making, or labouring people. And what is most to be commended, they were faithful followers of God's word in their living.

In this town Dr. Rowland Taylor was minister; who, at his first entering into his benefice, did not, as too many do, let out his benefice to a farmer, that should

gather up the profits, and set in an ignorant unlearned priest to serve the cure ; and so they have the fleece, care little or nothing for feeding the flock : but, contrarily, he left archbishop Cranmer, with whom he was in household, and made his abode in Hadley. Here, as a good shepherd, he gave himself wholly to the study of the holy Scriptures ; most faithfully endeavouring to fulfil that charge which the Lord gave to Peter, saying, “ Peter, lovest thou me ? feed my lambs, feed my sheep.” No Sunday, nor holiday passed, nor other time, when he might get the people together, but he preached to them the word of God. And not only his preaching, but all his conversation, was an example of unfeigned Christian life and true holiness. He was void of pride, humble and meek as any child : so that none were so poor but they might boldly resort unto him. Neither was his lowliness childish or fearful ; but as occasion required, he would be stout in rebuking the evil doers ; so that none was so rich but he would tell him plainly his fault, with such earnestness and gravity, as became a good pastor. He was a man very mild ; void of all rancour, grudge, or ill will ; ready to do good to all men ; readily forgiving his enemies ; and never sought to do ill to any. To the poor that were blind, lame, sick, bed-ridden, or that had many children, he was a father ; a careful patron, and diligent provider ; insomuch that he caused the parishioners to make a general provision for them : and he himself (besides the continual relief that they found at his house,) gave a portion yearly, to the common alms-box. His wife also was an honest and sober matron ; and his children brought up in the fear of God, and good learning. In a word, he was a good “ salt of the earth,” savourily biting the corrupt manners of evil men ; a light in God’s house, set upon a candlestick, for all men to imitate and follow. Thus continued this good shepherd among his flock, governing and leading them through the wilderness of this world, all the days of Edward the Sixth.

In the beginning of queen Mary's reign, a certain lawyer, called Foster, with one John Clerk, of Hadley, conspired to bring popery again into Hadley church. For as yet Dr. Taylor, as a good shepherd, had retained in his church the reformation made by king Edward, and most earnestly preached against the popish corruptions. This Foster and Clerk, with all haste, built up the altar, intending to bring in their mass again, on Palm-Monday. But this device took no effect ; for in the night the altar was beaten down. Wherefore they built it up again, a second time, and set diligent watch, lest any should break it down again. On the day following they came, bringing the parson of Aldam, a popish sacrificer, who brought with him all his implements ; whom they and their men guarded with swords and bucklers, lest any man should disturb him in his sacrifice. When Dr. Taylor, who sat studying the Word of God, heard the bells ring, he arose and went to the church, supposing something had been there to be done, according to his pastoral office. Coming to the church, he found the church-doors shut and fast barred, saving the chancel-door, which was only latched. Where entering in, and coming into the chancel, he saw a popish sacrificer in his robes, ready to begin his apish sacrifice, beset round with drawn swords and bucklers, lest any man should approach to disturb him. Then said Dr. Taylor, " Thou devil, who made thee so bold to enter into this church of Christ, to profane and defile it with this abominable idolatry ?" With that started up Mr. Foster, and with a furious countenance said, " Thou traitor, what doest thou here to disturb the queen's proceedings ?" Dr. Taylor answered, " I am no traitor, but I am the shepherd that Christ hath appointed to feed this his flock. Wherefore I have good authority to be here ; and I command thee, thou popish wolf, in the name of God, to avoid hence, and not to presume here, with such popish idolatry, to poison Christ's flock." Then said Foster, " Wilt thou traitorously make a commotion, and resist the queen's

proceedings?" Dr. Taylor answered, "I make no commotion; but it is you papists that make commotions and tumults. I resist only with God's Word, against your popish idolatries, which are against God's Word, the queen's honour, and tend to the utter subversion of this realm." Then Foster, with his armed men, took Dr. Taylor, and led him with a strong hand out of the church, and the popish prelate proceeded. Dr Taylor's wife, who followed her husband into the church, when she saw her husband thus violently thrust out of his church, kneeled down and held up her hands, and with a loud voice said, "I beseech God, the righteous Judge, to avenge this injury." Then they thrust her out of the church also, and shut the doors; for they feared the people would have rent their sacrificer in pieces. Notwithstanding one or two threw in great stones at the windows, and missed very little the popish masser

Within a day or two after, Foster and Clerk complained of Dr. Taylor to Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, and lord chancellor. When the bishop heard this, he sent a letter to Dr. Taylor, commanding him within certain days to appear before him. When Dr. Taylor's friends heard of this, they came to him, and counselled him to flee; alleging, that he could neither be heard to speak his conscience, nor look for justice at the chancellor's hands. Then said Dr. Taylor, "Dear friends, I most heartily thank you, for your tender care over me. And although I know that there is neither justice nor truth to be looked for at my adversaries' hands, yet I know my cause to be so good and righteous, and the truth so strong upon my side, that I will go, by God's grace, and appear before them, and to their beards resist their false doing." Then said his friends, "Mr. Doctor, we think it not best so to do. You have sufficiently done your duty, and testified the truth, both by your godly sermons, and also in resisting the parson of Aldam." "Oh," quoth Dr. Taylor, "what will ye have me do? I am old, and have already lived too long to see these terrible days. Flee

you, and do as your consciences lead you ; I am fully determined, with God's grace, to go to the bishop, and to his beard to tell him, that he doth naught. God shall raise up teachers of his people, which shall teach them with more diligence and success than I have done. For God will not forsake his church, though for a time he correcteth us, and not without cause. As for me, I believe before God, I shall never be able to do God so good service, as I can do now ; nor shall I ever have so glorious a calling as I now have, nor so great mercy of God proffered me, as is now at this present. For what Christian man would not gladly die against the pope and his adherents ? I know that the papacy is the kingdom of antichrist, altogether full of falsehood, so that all their doctrine, even from Christ's cross and St. Nicholas be my speed, unto the end of their apocalypse, is nothing but idolatry, superstition, errors, hypocrisy, and lies. Wherefore I beseech you, and all my friends, to pray for me ; and I doubt not but God will give me strength and his Holy Spirit, that all mine adversaries shall be ashamed of their doings." When his friends saw him so constant, they with weeping eyes, commended him unto God ; and he within a day or two prepared himself for his journey, leaving his cure with a godly old priest, named sir Richard Yeoman ; who afterwards, for God's truth, was burnt at Norwich.

There was also in Hadley, one Alcock, a very godly man, well learned in the holy Scriptures, who (after sir Richard Yeoman was driven away) used daily to read a chapter and the English litany in Hadley church. But they fetched him up to London, and cast him into Newgate, where, after a year's imprisonment, he died.

Dr. Taylor, being accompanied with a servant of his own, named John Hull, took his journey towards London. By the way, Hull laboured to persuade him to flee, and proffered himself to go with him, and venture his life for him. But Dr. Taylor would in no wise consent, but said, " Oh, John ! shall I leave my flock in this danger ?

Remember the good shepherd, Christ, which not only fed his flock, but also died for his flock. Him must I follow, and with God's grace, will do; therefore, good John, pray for me; and if thou seest me weak at any time, comfort me, and discourage me not." Thus they came up to London, and shortly after, Dr. Taylor presented himself to the bishop of Winchester. When Gardiner saw Dr. Taylor, according to his common custom, he reviled him, calling him knave, traitor, heretic, with many other reproaches; which Dr. Taylor heard patiently, and at last said unto him, "My lord, I am neither traitor nor heretic, but a true subject, and a faithful Christian man, and am come, according to your commandment, to know what is the cause that your lordship hath sent for me." Then said the bishop, "Art thou come, thou villain? How darest thou look me in the face for shame? Knowest thou not who I am?" "Yes," said Dr. Taylor, "I know who you are. You are Dr. Stephen Gardiner, bishop of Winchester and lord chancellor, and yet but a mortal man, I trow. But if I should be afraid of you, why fear you not God, the Lord of us all? How dare you for shame look any Christian man in the face, seeing you have forsaken the truth, denied our Saviour Christ and his Word, and acted contrary to your own oath and writings? With what countenance will you appear before the judgment-seat of Christ, and answer to your oath made first unto king Henry VIII. and afterward unto blessed king Edward." The bishop answered, "Tush, tush, that was Herod's oath, unlawful; and therefore worthy to be broken: and I thank God, I am come home again to our mother the church of Rome, and so I would thou shouldst do." Dr. Taylor answered, "Should I forsake the church of Christ, which is founded upon the true foundation of the apostles and prophets, to approve those lies, superstitions, and idolatries, that the popes and their company so blasphemously do approve? Nay, God forbid. Let the pope and his, return to our Saviour Christ and his Word, and thrust out of the church those

abominable idolatries, and then will Christian men turn unto him. You wrote truly against him, and were sworn against him." "I tell thee," said the bishop, "it was Herod's oath, unlawful; and therefore ought to be broken: and our holy father the pope hath discharged me of it." Then said Dr. Taylor, "But you shall not be so discharged before Christ, who doubtless will require it at your hands, as a lawful oath made to our sovereign lord the king, from obedience to whom no man can absolve you." "I see," said the bishop, "thou art an arrogant knave, and a very fool." "My lord," said Dr. Taylor, "leave your railing, which is not seemly for one in authority as you are. You know, that 'he that saith to his brother, Racha, is in danger of the council; and he that saith, Thou fool, is in danger of hell fire.'" The bishop answered, "You are liars all the sort of you." "Nay," said Dr. Taylor, "we are true men, and know that it is written, 'The mouth that speaketh lies, slayeth the soul:' and again, 'Thou shalt destroy all that speak lies.' And therefore we abide by the truth of God's word, which ye, contrary to your own consciences, forsake."

"Thou art married," said the bishop. "Yea," said Dr. Taylor, "I thank God I am, and have had nine children; and blessed be God that ordained matrimony, and commanded that every man, that hath not the gift of continency, should marry, and not live in adultery or whoredom." Then said the bishop, "Thou hast resisted the queen's proceedings, and wouldest not suffer the parson to say mass in Hadley." Dr. Taylor answered, "My lord, I am parson of Hadley, and it is against all right and law, that any man should come into my charge, and presume to infect the flock committed unto me." With that the bishop grew very angry, and said, "Thou art a blasphemous heretic, that blasphemest the blessed sacrament," (and put off his cap.) Dr. Taylor answered, "Nay, I blaspheme not the blessed sacrament which Christ instituted; but I reverence it as a true Christian

man ought to do, and confess, that Christ ordained the holy communion in the remembrance of his death and passion, which when we keep according to his ordinance, we (*through faith*) eat the body of Christ, and drink his blood." "Thou sayest well," quoth the bishop. "It is all that thou hast said, and more too ; for it is a propitiatory sacrifice for the quick and the dead." Then answered Dr. Taylor, "Christ gave himself to die for our redemption upon the cross, whose body there offered was the propitiatory sacrifice, full, perfect, and sufficient for all them that believe in him. And this sacrifice did our Saviour Christ offer in his own person himself once for all ; neither can any priest any more offer him ; nor need we any more propitiatory sacrifice ; and therefore I say with Chrysostom, and all the doctors, Our sacrifice is only commemorative, a sacrifice of thanksgiving, and therefore the fathers called it *Eucharistia* : and other sacrifice hath the church of God none." "It is true," said the bishop, "the sacrament is called *Eucharistia*, a thanksgiving ; and it is also a sacrifice propitiatory for the quick and the dead ; which thou shalt confess ere thou and I have done." Then the bishop called his men, and said, "Have this fellow hence, and carry him to the King's-bench, and charge the keeper that he be straitly kept." Then Dr. Taylor kneeled down, and holding up his hands, said, "Good Lord, I thank thee ; and from the tyranny of the bishop of Rome, and all his detestable idolatries and abominations, good Lord, deliver us." So they carried him to the King's-bench prison, where he was confined almost two years. Being in prison, Dr. Taylor spent all his time in prayer, reading the holy Scriptures, writing, preaching, and exhorting the prisoners, and such as resorted to him, to repentance and amendment of life.

Within a few days divers other learned and godly men, in sundry counties of England, were committed to prison, so that almost all the prisons in England were become Christian schools and churches ; and there was no greater

comfort for Christian hearts, than to come to the prisons to behold their virtuous conversation, and to hear their prayers, preachings, exhortations, and consolations.

When Dr. Taylor was come into the King's-bench, he found there Mr. Bradford, whom he began to exhort to faith and patience, and to persevere constant unto the end. Mr. Bradford, hearing this, thanked God that he had provided him such a comfortable fellow-prisoner; and so they both together praised God, and continued in prayer, reading, and exhorting one another: insomuch that Dr. Taylor told his friends that came to visit him, that God had most graciously provided for him, in sending him to that prison where he found such an angel of God to be in his company to comfort him. After he had lain in prison a while, he was cited to appear at Bow church, where he alleged many laws and constitutions for himself, but all availed not; for he was again carried into prison, and his livings taken away.

After a year and three quarters, in which time the papists got certain old tyrannous laws, which were put down by king Henry VIII. and king Edward, to be again revived by parliament; so that now they might, *ex officio*, cite whom they would, upon their own suspicion, and charge him with what articles they pleased, and except they in all things agreed to their purpose, burn them. When these laws were once established, they convened Dr. Taylor before the chancellor and other commissioners, on the 22d of January. The talk between them is described by himself in his letter to a friend, as followeth:

Whereas you would have me write the talk between the king and queen's most honourable council and me, on Tuesday the 22d of January, so far as I remember: First, my lord chancellor said, "You, among others, are at this present time sent for, to enjoy the king and queen's majesties favour and mercy, if you will now rise again with us from the fall which we have received." I answered, "So to rise, would be the greatest fall that ever I could receive. For I should so fall from my dear

Saviour Christ to antichrist. For I do believe, that the religion set forth in king Edward's days, was according to the holy Scripture, from which I do not intend to decline so long as I live, by God's grace." Then Mr. Secretary Bourn said, "Which of the religions mean you in king Edward's days? For you know there were divers books of religion set forth in his days." I answered, "There was set forth by the most innocent king Edward, the whole church service, with great deliberation, and the advice of the best learned men in the realm, and authorised by the whole parliament, which book was never reformed but once, and by that one reformation it was fully perfected, according to the rules of our Christian religion: I mean that book." Then my lord chancellor said, "Didst thou never read the book that I set forth of the sacrament?" I answered that I had read it. Then he said, "How likest thou that book?" With that one of the council (whose name I know not) said, "My lord, that is a good question; for I am sure, that book stoppeth all their mouths." Then said I, "My lord, I think many things be far wide from God's word in that book." Then my lord said, "Thou art a very varlet." To that I answered, "That is as ill as *Racha*!" Then my lord said, "Thou art an ignorant beetle-brow." To that I answered, "I have read over and over again the holy Scriptures, and St. Augustine's works through, St. Cyprian, Eusebius, Origen, Gregory Nanzianzen, with divers other books; therefore, I thank God, I am not utterly ignorant. Besides these, my lord, I professed the civil laws, as your lordship did, and I have read over the canon law also." Then my lord said, "With a corrupt judgment thou redest all things. I have written divers books." Then said I, "My lord, you did write one book, *De Vera Obedientia*; I would you had been constant in that: for indeed you never did declare a good conscience that I heard of, but in that one book." Then my lord said, "Tut, tut, tut, I wrote against priests marriages: but such books please not such wretches as thou art, who hast

been married many years." I answered, "I am married indeed, and I have had nine children in holy matrimony, I thank God: and this I am sure of, that your proceedings at this present against priests' marriages, is the maintenance of the doctrine of devils, against natural law, civil law, canon law, general councils, canons of the apostles, ancient doctors, and God's laws." Then spoke my lord of Durham, "You have professed the civil law! then you know that Justinian writeth, that priests should, at their taking of orders, swear that they were never married."

I answered, "I did not remember any such law of Justinian. But I am sure that Justinian writeth, That if one would bequeath to his wife a legacy, under a condition that she should never marry again, and take an oath of her for accomplishing the same, yet she may marry again if he die, notwithstanding the aforesaid conditions."

Then my lord chancellor said, "Thou sayest that priests may be married by God's law. How provest thou that?" I answered, "By the plain words of St. Paul, both to Timothy and to Titus, where he speaks most evidently of the marriage of priests, deacons, and bishops. And Chrysostom, writing upon the epistle to Timothy, saith, 'It is an heresy to say, that a bishop may not be married.'" Then said my lord chancellor, "Thou beliest Chrysostom. But thou dost, as all thy companions do, belie both the Scriptures and the doctors. Didst thou not also say, That by the canon law priests may be married? which is most untrue." I answered, "We read in the decrees, that the four general councils have the same authority that the four evangelists have. And we read in the same decrees, (which is one of the chief books of the canon law) that the council of Nice did allow priests and bishops' marriages: therefore by the best part of the canon law priests may be married." Then my lord chancellor said, "Thou falsifiest the council. For there is mention in the said decree, that priests should be divorced from their wives."

Then said I, "If those words be there, I am content to lose this great head of mine. Let the book be fetched."

Then spake my lord of Durham, "Though they be not there, yet they may be in Eusebius, out of which book the decree was taken." To that, said I, "It is not likely the pope would leave out any such sentence, making so much for his purpose." Then my lord chancellor said, "Gratian was but a patcher, and thou art glad to snatch up such a patch as maketh for thy purpose." I answered, "My lord, I cannot but marvel that you call one of the chief papists that ever was, but a patcher." Then my lord chancellor said, "Nay, I call thee a snatcher and patcher. To make an end, wilt thou not return to the catholic church?" And with that he rose. And I said, "By God's grace, I never will depart from Christ's church." Then I required that I might have some of my friends to come to me in prison. And my lord chancellor said, "Thou shalt have judgment within this week." And so I was delivered again unto my keeper.

On the 31st of January, Dr. Taylor, (together with Mr. Bradford and Mr. Sanders,) was again called to appear before the bishops of Winchester, Norwich, London, Salisbury, and Durham; and a determinate answer was required, whether they would abjure their errors? or else they would proceed to their condemnation. When Dr. Taylor and his fellows heard this, they answered boldly, That they would not depart from the truth which they had preached, neither would they submit to the Romish antichrist; but they thanked God for so great mercy, that he would call them to suffer for his word and truth. When the bishops saw them so constantly fixed in the truth, they read the sentence of death upon them, which when they had heard, they most joyfully gave God thanks, and said unto the bishops, "We doubt not, but God, the righteous judge, will require our blood at your hands, and the proudest of you all shall repent this your tyranny, that ye now shew against the flock of Christ."

The keeper of the prison had then charge of him, and

brought him towards the prison, the people flocking about to gaze upon him : unto whom he said, " God be praised, good people, I am come away from them undefiled, and will confirm the truth with my blood." He was bestowed in the Clink till towards night, and then removed to the Compter.

The 4th day of February, Bonner came to the Compter to degrade him. Dr. Taylor was brought down to Bonner : and at his coming the bishop said, " Mr. Doctor, I would you would remember yourself, and turn to your mother holy church : I will sue for your pardon." Whereunto Mr. Taylor answered, " I would you and your fellows would turn to Christ. As for me, I will not turn to antichrist." " Well," quoth the bishop, " I am come to degrade you ; wherefore put on those vestures." (Offering him the ornaments belonging to the mass.) " No, (quoth Dr. Taylor) I will not." " Wilt thou not, (said the bishop) I shall make thee ere I go." Quoth Dr. Taylor, " You shall not, by the grace of God." Then he charged him upon his obedience to do it ; but he would not. So he willed another to put them upon his back, and when he was thoroughly furnished therewith, he set his hands to his side, walking up and down, and said, " How say you, my lord, am I not a goodly fool ? How say you, my masters ? If I were in Cheapside, should I not have boys enough to laugh at these apish toys ?" So the bishop scraped his fingers, thumbs, and the crown of his head, and did the rest of their observances. At the last, when he should have given Dr. Taylor a stroke on the breast with his crosier-staff, the bishop's chaplain said, " My lord, strike him not, for he will surely strike again." " Yea, (quoth Dr. Taylor,) the cause is Christ's, and I were no good Christian, if I would not fight in my master's quarrel." So the bishop laid his curse upon him, but struck him not. Then Dr. Taylor said, " Though you do curse me, yet God doth bless me. I have the witness of my conscience, that ye have done me wrong : and yet I pray God, if it be his will, to forgive you. But

from the tyranny of the bishop of Rome, and his detestable enormities, good Lord deliver us.' And in going up to his chamber, he still said, "God deliver me from you. God deliver me from you." And when he came up, he told Mr. Bradford, (for they both lay in one chamber,) that he had made the bishop of London afraid; for (saith he,) his chaplain gave him counsel not to strike me with his crosier-staff, for that I would strike him again; and, by my troth, (said he, rubbing his hands,) I made him believe I would do so indeed.

The night after he was degraded, his wife and his son were, by the gentleness of the keepers, permitted to sup with him. (For this difference was ever found between the keepers of the bishops' prisons, and the keepers of the king's prisons: that the bishops' keepers were ever cruel, blasphemous, and tyrannous, like their masters; but the keepers of the king's prisons shewed, for the most part, as much favour as they possibly might.) So Dr. Taylor's wife, his son, and John Hull, his servant, came to sup with him; and at their coming in before supper, they kneeled down and prayed. After supper, walking up and down, he gave God thanks for his grace, that had called him, and given him strength to abide by his Holy Word: and turning to his son Thomas, "My dear son," said he, "Almighty God bless thee, and give thee his Holy Spirit, to be a true servant of Christ, to learn his Word, and constantly to stand by his truth all thy life long. And, my son, see that thou fear God always. Flee from all sin; be virtuous, serve God with daily prayer, and apply to thy book. In any wise see that thou be obedient to thy mother, love her and serve her; be ruled by her now in thy youth, and follow her good counsel in all things. Beware of young men that fear not God, but follow vain appetites. Fly from whoredom, and hate all filthy living, remembering that I, thy father, do die in defence of holy marriage. Another day, when God shall bless thee, love and cherish the poor people, and count that thy chief riches is, to be rich in alms; and

when thy mother is waxed old, forsake her not ; but provide for her to thy power : for so will God bless thee, and give thee long life upon earth and prosperity ; which I pray God to grant thee."

Then turning to this wife, " My dear wife, (quoth he) continue steadfast in the fear and love of God ; keep yourself undefiled from popish idolatries and superstitions. I have been unto you a faithful yoke-fellow, and so have you been unto me ; for which I pray God to reward you, and doubt not, dear wife, but God will reward it.

" Now the time is come that I shall be taken from you, and you discharged of the wedlock bond towards me ; therefore I will give you my counsel, what I think most expedient for you. You are yet a child-bearing woman, and therefore it will be most convenient for you to marry. For doubtless you shall never be at a convenient stay for our poor children, nor out of trouble till you be married. Therefore as soon as God will provide it, marry with some honest faithful man that feareth God. Doubt you not, God will provide an honest husband for you, and He will be a merciful father to you and to my children ; whom, I pray you, bring up in the fear of God, and in learning to the utmost of your power, and keep them from Romish idolatry." When he had thus said, they with tears prayed together, and kissed one the other ; and he gave his wife a book of the church-service, set out by king Edward, which in the time of his imprisonment he daily used. And unto his son Thomas he gave a Latin book, containing the sayings of the old martyrs ; and in the end of that book, he wrote as followeth :

*The last Will and Testament of DR. ROWLAND TAYLOR,
Parson of Hadley.*

" I say to my wife and to my children, the Lord gave you unto me, and the Lord hath taken me from you, and you from me ; blessed be the name of the Lord. I believe that they are blessed which die in the Lord. God careth for sparrows, and for the hairs of our heads. I

have ever found Him more faithful than any father or husband. Trust ye, therefore, in him through our Saviour Christ's merits : believe, love, fear, and obey him : pray to him, for he hath promised to help. Count me not dead, for I shall certainly live, and never die. I go before, and you shall follow after, to our long home. I go to the rest of my children, Susan, George, Ellen, Robert, and Zachary : I have bequeathed you to the only Omnipotent. I say to my dear friends of Hadley, and to all others which have heard me preach, that I depart hence with a quiet conscience, as touching my doctrine ; for which, I pray you, thank God with me. For I have, after my little talent, declared to others those lessons that I gathered out of God's book. Therefore if I, or an angel from heaven, should preach to you any other gospel than that ye have received, God's great curse upon that preacher. Beware, for God's sake, that ye deny not God, neither decline from the word of faith, lest God decline from you, and so you everlastingly perish. The Lord grant all men his Holy Spirit, increase of his wisdom, condemning the wicked world, hearty desire to be with God and the heavenly company, through Jesus Christ, our only mediator, advocate, righteousness, life, sanctification, and hope. Amen, amen. Pray, pray.

“ ROWLAND TAYLOR, departing hence in sure hope, without all doubting of eternal salvation, I thank God, my heavenly Father, through Jesus Christ, my certain Saviour. Amen.

“ *February the 5th, 1555.*

“ The Lord is my light and my salvation : whom then shall I fear,” Psal. xxvii. “ God is He that justifieth, who is he that condemneth ?” Rom. viii. “ In thee, O Lord, have I trusted, let me never be confounded,” Psal. xxx.

On the morrow (the 5th of February) the sheriff of London, with his officers, came to the compters by two

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o'clock in the morning, and so brought forth Dr. Taylor, and without any light led him to the Woolpack, an inn without Aldgate. Dr. Taylor's wife, suspecting that her husband would that night be carried away, watched all night in St. Botolph's church-porch beside Aldgate, having with her two children, the one named Elizabeth, of 13 years of age, (who being left without father or mother, Dr. Taylor had brought up of alms from three years old,) the other named Mary, Dr. Taylor's own daughter. When the sheriff came over-against St. Botolph's church, Elizabeth cried, "O my dear father! Mother! mother! here is my father led away!" Then cried his wife, "Rowland! Rowland! where art thou?" for it was so dark a morning, that the one could not see the other. Dr. Taylor answered, "Dear wife, I am here;" and stayed. The sheriff's men would have led him forth; but the sheriffs said, "Stay a little, master, I pray you, and let him speak to his wife." Then came she to him; when he took his daughter Mary in his arms: and he, his wife, and Elizabeth, kneeled down to prayer. At which sight the sheriff wept a-pace; and so did divers of the company. After they had prayed, he rose up and kissed his wife, and shook her by the hand, and said, "Farewell, my dear wife, be of good comfort, for I am quiet in my conscience. God shall raise up a father for my children." And then he kissed his daughter Mary, and said, "God bless thee and make thee his servant:" and kissing Elizabeth, he said, "God bless thee. I pray you all stand strong and steadfast unto Christ and his Word, and keep from idolatry." Then said his wife, "God be with thee, dear Rowland: I will, with God's grace, meet thee at Hadley."

He was then led forth to the Woolpack, and his wife followed him. As soon as they came to the Woolpack, he was put into a chamber, wherein he was kept with four yeomen of the guard and sheriff's men. Dr. Taylor, as soon as he was come into the chamber, fell down on his knees, and gave himself wholly to prayer. The

sheriff, seeing Dr. Taylor's wife there, would in no case grant her to speak any more with her husband, but gently desired her to go to his house, and take it as her own; and promised her she should lack nothing, and sent two officers to conduct her thither. Notwithstanding she desired to go to her mother's, whither the officers led her, charging her mother to keep her there till they came again. Thus Dr. Taylor remained at the Woolpack, till eleven o'clock. At which time the sheriff of Essex was ready to receive him: and so they set him on horse-back within the inn, the gates being shut. At the coming out of the gates, John Hull stood at the rails with Dr. Taylor's son, Thomas. When Dr. Taylor saw them, he called them, saying, "Come hither, my son Thomas." And Hull lifted the child up, and set him on the horse before his father: and Dr. Taylor put off his hat, and said to the people that stood looking on him, "Good people, this is mine own son, begotten in lawful matrimony: and God be praised for lawful matrimony." Then lifted he up his eyes towards heaven, and prayed for his son, laid his hat upon the child's head, and blessed him; and so delivered him to Hull, whom he took by the hand, and said, "Farewell, John Hull, the faithfullest servant that ever man had." And so they rode forth, the sheriff of Essex, with four yeomen of the guard, and the sheriff's men leading him.

When they were come almost to Burntwood, one Arthur Faysie, a man of Hadley, who before had been Dr. Taylor's servant, met them; and he, supposing him to have been at liberty, said, "Mr. Doctor, I am glad to see you again at liberty;" and came to him and took him by the hand. "Soft, sir," said the sheriff, "he is a prisoner; what hast thou to do with him?" "I cry your mercy," said Arthur; "I knew not so much, and I thought it no offence to talk to a good man." The sheriff was very angry with this, and threatened to carry Arthur with him to prison; notwithstanding, he bade him get quickly away; and so rode forth to Burntwood: where

they caused a close hood to be made for Dr. Taylor, with two holes for his eyes, and a slit for his mouth. This they did, that no man should know him, nor he speak to any one. Which practice they used also with others. Their own consciences told them, that they led innocent lambs to the slaughter. Wherefore they feared, lest if the people should have heard them speak, or have seen them, they might have been much more strengthened by their godly exhortations, to stand steadfast in God's Word, and to flee the superstitions and idolatries of the papacy.

All the way Dr. Taylor was joyful and merry, as one going to a banquet or bridal. He spake many things to the sheriff and yeomen of the guard, and often moved them to weep, through his much earnest calling upon them to repent and to amend their lives. Oftentimes also he caused them to wonder and rejoice, to see him so constant and steadfast, void of all fear, joyful in heart, and glad to die. Of these yeomen of the guard, three used Dr. Taylor well, but the fourth (whose name was Holmes) used him very unkindly and churlishly.

At Chelmsford the sheriff of Suffolk met them, there to receive him, and to carry him forth into Suffolk. And being at supper, the sheriff of Essex said, "Good Mr. Doctor, we are right sorry for you, considering what the loss is of such a one as you might be. God hath given you great learning and wisdom, wherefore you have been in great favour in times past with the highest of this realm. Besides this, you are a man of goodly personage, in your best strength, and by nature like to live many years; and without doubt you would in time to come be in as good reputation as ever you were, or rather better: for you are well beloved by all men, as well for your virtues as your learning; and methinks it were great pity you should cast yourself away: you would do much better to return to the catholic church; and I and all these your friends will be suitors for your pardon. This counsel I give you, good Mr. Doctor, of a good heart and good-will toward

you ; and thereupon I drink to you." In like manner said the yeomen of the guard, " Upon that condition, Mr. Doctor, we will all drink to you." When they had all drank to him, and the cup was come to him, he staid a little, as one studying what answer he might give. At the last he said, " Mr. Sheriff, and my masters all, I heartily thank you for your good-will ; I have hearkened to your words, and marked well your counsels. And to be plain with you, I do perceive that I have been deceived myself, and am like to deceive a great many of Hadley of their expectation." With that word they all rejoiced. " Yea, good Mr. Doctor," quoth the sheriff, " God's blessing on your heart ; hold you there still. It is the comfortablest word that we have heard you speak yet. What ! should you cast yourself away in vain ? Play a wise man's part, and, I dare warrant it, you shall find favour. But what meant you by this, that you say you think you have been deceived yourself, and think you shall deceive many one in Hadley ?" " Would ye know my meaning plainly ?" quoth he. " Yea," said the sheriff, " tell it us plainly " Then said Dr. Taylor, " I will tell you how I have been deceived, and as I think, I shall deceive a great many. I am, as you see, a man that hath a very great carcase, which I thought would have been buried in Hadley church-yard ; but herein I see I was deceived : and there are a great number of worms in Hadley church-yard, which would have had jolly feeding upon this carrion, which they have looked for many a day. But now I know both I and they are deceived ; for this carcase must be burnt to ashes." When the sheriff and his company heard him say so, they were amazed, and looked one on another, marvelling at the man's constant mind, that thus without all fear made but a jest of death.

Being delivered to the sheriff of Suffolk, they conducted him on the way to Hadley. When they were come to Lanham, the sheriff stayed there two days ; and thither came to him a great number of gentlemen and justices, who were all appointed to aid the sheriff. These gentle-

men laboured with Dr. Taylor to reduce him to the Romish religion, promising him his pardon, which, said they, we have for you. They promised him also a bishoprick ; but all their labour was in vain. For he abode constant and unmoveable. After two days, the sheriff led him on ; and coming within two miles of Hadley, he desired to light off his horse to make water : which done, he leaped cheerfully, and gave a frisk or twain, as men commonly do in dancing. “ Why, Mr. Doctor,” said the sheriff, “ how do you now ? ” He answered, “ Well ; God be praised, good Mr. Sheriff. Never better : for now I know I am almost at home. I lack not past two styles to go over, and I am even at my father’s house. But Mr. Sheriff,” said he, “ shall we not go through Hadley ? ” “ Yes,” said the sheriff. Then said he, “ O good Lord, I thank thee, I shall yet once ere I die see my flock, whom thou knowest I have most heartily loved, and truly taught. Good Lord bless them, and keep them steadfast in thy word and truth.”

When they were come to Hadley, as they were riding over the bridge, a poor man with his five small children, when they saw Dr. Taylor, fell upon their knees, and held up their hands, and the man cried with a loud voice, “ O dear father and good shepherd, Dr. Taylor, God help and succour thee, as thou hast many a time succoured me and my poor children.” The sheriff, and others that led him, were astonished at this ; and the sheriff sorely rebuked the poor man for so crying. The streets of Hadley were crowded on both sides the way with men and women of the town and country, who waited to see him : whom when they beheld so led to death, with weeping eyes and lamentable voices they cried one to another, “ Ah, good Lord ! there goeth our good shepherd from us, that taught us so faithfully ; so fatherly cared for us, and so godly governed us. O merciful God ! what shall we, poor scattered lambs, do ? What will become of this wicked world ? Good Lord, strengthen him, and comfort him.” Wherefore the people were

soresly rebuked by the sheriff and his men. Whilst Dr. Taylor continually said to the people, "I have preached to you God's word and truth, and am come this day to seal it with my blood." Coming against the alms-houses, which he well knew, he cast money to the poor people, which remained of that which good people had given him in time of his imprisonment. This he kept in his glove, and distributed it as he went. Coming to the last of the alm-houses, and not seeing the poor that dwelt there ready at their doors, as the others were, he asked, "Is the blind man and blind woman, that dwelt there, alive?" It was answered, "Yea, they are within." Then he threw the glove and all in at the window, and so rode on.

Thus this father of the poor took his leave of those for whom all his life he had had a singular care. For this was his custom, once in a fortnight at least, to call upon sir Anthony Doyl, and other rich clothiers, to go with him to the alms-houses, and there to see how the poor lived; what they lacked in meat, drink, clothing, bedding, or other necessities. The like did he also to other poor men that had many children, or were sick. Then would he exhort and comfort them; and where he found cause, rebuke the unruly; and what they lacked, that gave he after his power: and what he was not able, he caused the wealthy men to minister unto them. At last, coming to Aldham Common, and seeing a great multitude of people gathered thither, he asked, What place is this, and what meaneth it that so much people are gathered hither? It was answered, It is Aldham Common, the place where you are to suffer; and the people are come to look upon you. Then said he, "God be thanked, I am even at home;" and so, alighting from his horse, with both hands he rent the hood from his head.

His head was knotted ill-favouredly, and clipped as a man would clip a fool's head; which cost Bonner had bestowed upon him when he degraded him. When the people saw his reverend and ancient face, with a long

white beard, they burst out with tears, and cried, "God save thee, good Dr. Taylor! Jesus Christ strengthen thee, and help thee: the Holy Ghost comfort thee!" Then would he have spoken to the people, but the yeoman of the guard were so busy about him, that as soon as he opened his mouth, one or other thrust a tipstaff into his mouth, and would in no wise permit him to speak. Then desired he license of the sheriff to speak; but the sheriff denied it, and bade him remember his promises to the council. "Well, (quoth Dr. Taylor,) promise must be kept." What this promise was, it is unknown; but the common fame was, that after he and others were condemned, the council sent for them, and threatened they would cut their tongues out, except they would promise, that at their deaths they would not speak to the people: for they feared lest any tumult or uproar might have been stirred up, the people having so just a cause not to be contented with their doings. But, thanks be to God, which gave to his witnesses faith and patience, with manly hearts, to despise all torments. Neither was there so much as any one man that once shewed any sign of disobedience towards the magistrates. They shed their blood gladly in the defence of the truth; so leaving an example unto all men of true and perfect obedience; which is, to obey God more than men; and, if need require it, to shed their own blood, rather than to depart from God's truth.

Dr. Taylor, perceiving that he could not be suffered to speak, sat down, and seeing one named Soyce, he called him, and said, "Soyce, I pray thee come and pull off my boots, and take them for thy labour." Then he rose up, and put off his clothes unto his shirt, and gave them away. Which done, he said, with a loud voice, "Good people, I have taught you nothing but God's holy Word, and those lessons that I have taken out of God's blessed book; and I am come hither this day to seal it with my blood." With that word, Holmes, who had used Dr. Taylor very cruelly all the way, gave him a great stroke upon the head, and said, "Is that the keeping of thy promise,

thou heretic ?” Then he kneeled down and prayed, and a poor woman that was among the people stepped in and prayed with him ; but they thrust her away, and threatened to tread her down with horses ; notwithstanding which she would not remove, but abode and prayed with him. When he had prayed, he went to the stake, and kissed it, and set himself in a pitch-barrel, which they had placed for him to stand in, and so stood with his back upright against the stake, with his hands folded together, and his eyes toward heaven. Then they bound him with chains, and the sheriff called one Richard Donningham, a butcher, and commanded him to set up the faggots ; but he refused to do it ; and said, “ I am lame, Sir, and not able to lift a faggot.” The sheriff threatened to send him to prison ; notwithstanding, he would not do it. Then he appointed one Warwick, and three others, to set up the faggots, and make the fire, which they did most diligently ; and Warwick cast a faggot at him, which alighted upon his head, and broke his face, that the blood ran down his visage. Then said Dr. Taylor, “ O friend, I have harm enough, what needed that ?”

Furthermore, sir John Shelton standing by, as Dr. Taylor was speaking, and saying the 51st Psalm in English, struck him on the lips : “ Thou knave, (said he,) I will make thee speak Latin.” At the last they set to the fire ; and Dr. Taylor, holding up both his hands, called upon God, and said, “ Merciful Father of heaven, for Jesus Christ, my Saviour’s sake, receive my soul into thy hands.” So he stood still, without either crying or moving, with his hands folded together, till Soyce with a halberd struck him on the head, so that the brains fell out, and the dead corps fell down into the fire, February 9, 1555.

THE HISTORY OF THOMAS TOMKINS.

ON the 8th of February, 1555, six prisoners were brought and examined before bishop Bonner. The first of these was Thomas Tomkins, a weaver, dwelling in Shoreditch, London, who was of such conversation and disposition, that if any woman came to him with her web, as sometimes there did three or four in a day, he would always begin with prayer. Or if any others came to talk with him of any matter, he would likewise first begin with prayer. And if any sought unto him to borrow money, he would shew him such money as he had in his purse, and bid him take it.

Dr. Bonner kept him in prison half a year; during which time he was so rigorous to him, that he beat him bitterly about the face, which caused it to swell. Having Tomkins prisoner at Fulham, in the month of July, he set him, with his other work-folks, to make hay. And seeing him labour well, the bishop sitting down, said, "I like thee well, for thou labourest well; I trust thou wilt be a good catholic." "My lord, (said he,) St. Paul saith, He that doth not labour, is not worthy to eat." Bonner said, "Ah, St. Paul is a great man with thee." After other talk, the bishop said, "I wish your beard was off;

you would then look like a catholic." "My lord, (said Tomkins,) before my beard grew, I was, I trust, a good Christian, and so I trust to be, my beard being on." But Bonner sent for the barber, and caused his beard to be shaved off. The true cause was, Bonner had plucked off a piece of his beard before.

When the bishop saw he could by no means prevail with him, he devised another method. Having with him, Mr. Harpsfield, Mr. Pembleton, Dr. Chedsey, Mr. Willerton, and others, he called for Tomkins, who coming before him, and standing (as he was wont,) in defence of his faith, the bishop fell from beating to burning. Having there a wax-candle standing upon the table, he took Tomkins by the fingers, and held his hand directly over the flame, supposing that being terrified by the pain of the fire, he would leave off the defence of the doctrine which he had received. Tomkins thinking no otherwise but presently to die there, began to commend himself unto the Lord, saying, "O Lord, into thy hands I commend my spirit." Tomkins afterwards reported to one James Hinse, That during the time his hand was burning, his spirit was so wrapt, that he felt no pain: he never shrunk, till the veins shrunk, and the sinews burst, and the water spirted in Mr. Harpsfield's face: insomuch that Mr. Harpsfield, moved with pity, desired the bishop to stop, saying, that he had tried him enough. This burning was in the hall at Fulham.

After he had remained half a year in prison, he was brought before Bonner, sitting in his consistory, to be examined. To whom first was brought forth a certain bill or schedule, subscribed with his own hand, containing these words:

"Thomas Tomkins, of Shoreditch, and of the diocese of London, hath believed, and doth believe, that in the sacrament of the altar, under the forms of bread and wine, there is not the very body and blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ in substance, but

only a token and remembrance thereof; the very body and blood of Christ being only in heaven, and no where else.

By me,

“THOMAS TOMKINS.”

The bishop then went about to persuade him to relinquish his opinions; but when he saw he could not, he brought forth and read to him another writing, containing articles and interrogatories, whereunto he should come the next day to give his determinate answer, either to revoke, or else have justice (*as he called it,*) ministered unto him. After he had been twice before examined, on the 9th of March, at two o'clock in the afternoon, he was (the last time) brought before the bishops of London, Bath, and St. David's, where he was earnestly exhorted, by the bishop of Bath, to revoke his heretical opinions. Unto whom he answered, “My Lord, I was brought up in ignorance until of late years; and now I know the truth, wherein I will continue unto the death.” The bishop, seeing he would not recant, gave sentence of condemnation upon him. Then he delivered him to the sheriff of London, who carried him to Newgate, where he remained, most joyful and constant, until the 16th day of March, 1555; on which day he was by the said sheriff conveyed into Smithfield, and there sealed his faith in the flames.

THE HISTORY OF WILLIAM HUNTER.



WILLIAM HUNTER, an apprentice in London, in the first year of queen Mary, was commanded at Easter following to receive the communion at a mass, by the priest of the parish where he dwelt, called Coleman-street; but he refusing to do it, was threatened to be brought before the bishop of London. Wherefore his master, one Thomas Taylor, a silk-weaver, required him to depart from him, lest he should come in danger because of him, if he continued in his house. On which account Hunter took leave of his master, and came to Burntwood, in Essex, where his father dwelt, with whom he afterwards remained about seven weeks. While he was here, going one day into the chapel of Burntwood, he found a Bible lying on a desk, and read therein. In the mean time, there came in one father Atwell, sumner, who hearing William read in the Bible, said to him, "Why meddlest thou with the Bible? Knowest thou what thou redest? And canst thou expound the Scriptures?" To whom William answered, "Father Atwell, I take not upon me to expound the Scriptures; but finding the Bible here, I read in it to my comfort." To whom father Atwell said, "It was never a merry world since the Bible

came abroad in English." William answered, "Say not so, for God's sake : for it is God's book ; out of which every one that hath grace may learn to know both what things please God, and what displease him." Then said father Atwell, "Could we not tell before this time, as well as now, how God was served?" William answered, "No ; nothing so well as we might now, if we might have his blessed Word among us still, as we have had." Atwell said, "I perceive your mind well enough ; you are one of them that mislike the queen's laws ; you must turn over a new leaf ; or else you, and a great sort more heretics, will broil, I warrant you." William said, "God give me grace that I may believe his Word, and confess his name, whatsoever come thereof." "Confess his name ! (quoth Atwell,) no, no, you will go to the devil, all of you, and confess his name." At which words he went out of the chapel in a fury, saying, "I am not able to reason with thee ; but I will fetch one straight which shall talk with thee, I warrant thee, thou heretic." And he, leaving Hunter reading in the Bible, directly brought one Thomas Wood, vicar of Southwell, who was at an alehouse over-against the chapel ; who, hearing Atwell say, that William Hunter was reading the Bible in the chapel, came to him, and finding him reading, took the matter very heinously, and said, "Sirrah, who gave thee leave to read in the Bible, and expound it?" William answered, "I expound not the Scriptures, Sir, but read them for my comfort." "Why meddlest thou with them at all ? said the vicar. It becometh not thee, nor any such, to meddle with the Scriptures." William answered, "I will read the Scriptures (God willing,) while I live ; and you ought, Mr. Vicar, not to discourage any man from it, but rather exhort men diligently to read the Scriptures, for your discharge and their own." Unto which the vicar answered, "It becometh thee well, to tell me what I have to do ! I see, thou art an heretic, by thy words. Thou art meddling, father Atwell tells me, with the sixth of St. John, wherein thou mayst perceive how

Christ saith, 'Except that ye eat the flesh of Christ, and drink his blood, ye have no life in you.' William said, "I read the sixth of St. John, indeed; howbeit, I make no exposition on it." Then said father Atwell, "When you read it, I said that you there might understand, how that in the sacrament is Christ's *natural body and blood*. Unto which you answered, that you would take the Scriptures as they are, and that you would meddle with no exposition." "Why, (said the vicar,) dost thou not believe in the sacrament of the altar?" "I believe (said Hunter,) all that God's Word teacheth." "Why, (said the vicar,) thou mayest plainly learn this which I say, in the sixth of St. John."

Then said William, "You understand Christ's words much like the carnal Capernaïtes, who thought Christ would have given them his flesh to feed upon: which opinion Christ corrected, when he said, 'The words which I speak to you are *spirit and life*.'" "Now (says the vicar,) I have found thee out: I see that thou art a heretic indeed, and that thou dost not believe in the sacrament of the altar." William answered, "I would that you and I were even now fast tied to a stake, to prove whether I or you would stand strongest to our faith." But the vicar answered, "It shall not be so tried." "No, (quoth William,) I think so: for if it should, I think I know who would soonest recant; for I durst set my foot against yours, even to the death." "That we shall see," quoth the vicar; and so they departed; the vicar threatening William much that he would complain of him.

This vicar told Mr. Brown of the communication which William Hunter and he had together. Which when Mr. Brown understood, he sent for William's father and the constable, one Robert Salmon. For immediately after Hunter and the vicar had reasoned together, he took his leave of his father and fled. When the constable and William's father were come, Mr. Brown asked where William Hunter was. His father answered, "If it please you, Sir, I know not." "No! (quoth Mr. Brown,) I will make thee tell where he is, before I have done with

thee." "Sir, (said William's father,) I know not where he is, nor where to seek for him." Then said Mr. Brown, "Why didst thou not bring him when thou hadst him? If thou wilt not fetch him, I will send thee to prison. See that thou seek him, and bring him to me."

After that old Mr. Hunter had ridden two or three day's journey, to satisfy Mr. Brown's expectation, it happened that William met with his father in the highway, and spake to him, and told him he thought that he sought for him; and then his father confessing it, wept sore, and said, that Mr. Brown charged him to seek him, and bring him to him; howbeit, (said he,) I will return home, and say I cannot find you." But his son said, "Father, I will go with you, and save you harmless, whatever come of it."

Thus they came home together; but William, as soon as he was come, was taken by the constable, who laid him in the stocks. When Brown heard that William was come, he sent for him, and said to him, "Ah, sirrah, are you come?" Then he commanded the Bible to be brought and opened, and began to reason with William on this manner: "I hear you are a Scripture-man, and can reason much of the sixth of St. John. How say you to another place?" turning to Luke xxii. "Look here; Christ saith, that the bread is his body." Hunter answered, "The text saith, Christ *took bread*, but not that he *changed* it into another substance, but gave *that* which he *took*, and brake *that* which he *gave*, which was *bread*, as is evident by the text." Then Brown said, "Thou naughty boy, doth not Christ call the bread his body, plainly? and thou wilt not believe that the bread is his body after the consecration. Thou goest about to make Christ a liar." Hunter answered, "I mean not so, Sir, but rather more earnestly to search what the mind of Christ is in that holy institution, wherein he commendeth unto us the *remembrance* of his death, passion, resurrection, and coming again, saying, *This do in remembrance of me*. And though Christ calls the bread his body, as he doth also say that he is a

vine, a door, yet is not his body turned into bread, no more than he is turned into a door, or vine. Wherefore Christ called the bread his body by a figure." At that word, Brown said, "Thou art a villain, indeed! Wilt thou make Christ a liar still?" and was in such a fury, that Hunter could not speak a word. Wherefore Hunter desired him either to hear him quietly, or else send him away. To which Brown answered, "I will send thee tomorrow to my lord of London:" which he accordingly did. And the bishop caused Hunter to be brought into a chamber, where he said, "I understand that you have had certain communication with the vicar of Southwell, about the blessed sacrament of the altar. Howbeit, if thou wilt be ruled by me, thou shalt come to no harm for what thou hast said." Hunter answered, "My lord, I understand that Mr. Brown hath certified you of the talk which he and I had together, and thereby ye know what I said to him; which I will not recant, by God's help." Then said the bishop, "I think thou art ashamed to bear a faggot, and recant openly; but if thou wilt recant thy sayings, I will promise thee that thou shalt not be put to open shame. Speak the word here now between me and thee, and thou shalt go home without any hurt." Hunter answered, "My lord, if you will let me alone, and leave me to my conscience, I will go to my father, and dwell with him." Then said the bishop, "I am content, so that thou wilt go to church, and receive, and be shriven, and so continue a good catholic Christian." "No, (quoth Hunter,) I will not do so for all the good in the world." Then, quoth the bishop, "If you will not do so, I will make you, sure enough." "Well, (replied Hunter,) you can do no more than God will permit you." "Well, (quoth the bishop,) wilt thou not recant?" "No, (says Hunter,) never while I live, God willing." Then the bishop commanded his men to put Hunter in the stocks in his gatchouse, where he sat two days and nights, only with a crust of brown bread and a cup of water.

At the two days' end the bishop sent for Hunter, and
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demanded whether he would recant, or not. Hunter made him answer, That he would never recant that which he had confessed before men, as concerning his faith in Christ. Then the bishop sent him to the prison, commanding the keeper to lay as many irons upon him as he could bear; and moreover asked him how old he was; and William said that he was nineteen years old. "Well, (said the bishop,) you will be burned ere you be twenty years old, if you will not yield yourself better than you have done yet." Hunter answered, "God strengthen me in his truth:" and then he departed; the bishop allowing him a halfpenny a day to live on.

He continued in prison three quarters of a year; in which time he had been before the bishop five times, besides the time when he was condemned in the consistory in Paul's, the 9th day of February. The bishop then calling William, asked him if he would recant; which he refused to do; saying, "If you can separate the accidents from the substance, and shew me the substance without the accidents, I could believe." Then said the bishop, "Thou wilt not believe that God can do any thing above man's capacity." "Yes, (says William,) I must needs believe that, for daily experience teacheth all men that thing plainly; but our question is not what God *can* do, but what he will have us to learn in his holy supper." After this, the bishop pronounced sentence upon him, That, seeing there was no hope of reclaiming him, he should go from that place to Newgate for a time, and from thence be carried to Burntwood, and there be burnt.

Then the bishop called for several others; and when he had condemned them, he called for Hunter again, and persuaded him, saying, "If thou wilt yet recant, I will make thee a free man of the city, and give thee forty pounds in money to set thee up in thine occupation: or I will make thee steward of my house; for I like thee well; thou hast wit enough."

Hunter answered, "I thank you for your great offers.

Notwithstanding, my lord, if you cannot persuade my conscience with scriptures, I cannot find in my heart to turn from God for the love of the world ; for ‘I count all wordly things but dung and dross,’ in respect of the love of Christ.” Then said the bishop, “If thou diest in this mind, thou art condemned for ever.” Hunter answered, “God judgeth righteously, and justifieth them whom man condemneth.” Then the bishop departed, and Hunter and the rest were conveyed to Newgate, where they remained about a month. Afterward he was sent down to Burntwood, the Saturday before the Annunciation of the Virgin Mary, that followed on the Monday after, and there remained till Tuesday, because they would not put him to death then, for the holiness of the day.

In the mean time, William's father and mother came to him, and desired heartily of God that he might continue to the end. And his mother said, “I rejoice that ever I was so happy to bear such a child, who can find in his heart to lose his life for Christ's sake.” Then William said to his mother, “For the little pain which I shall suffer, Christ hath promised me a crown of joy ; ought you not to be glad of that, mother ?” With that, his mother kneeled down and prayed, saying, “I pray God strengthen thee, my son, to the end : yea, I think thee as well bestowed as any child I ever have borne.”

Thus passing away Saturday, Sunday, and Monday, Hunter had a dream, about two o'clock on Tuesday morning, which was this,—That he was at the place where the stake was pitched, which (as he thought,) was at the town's end, where the butts stood ; that he met his father as he went to the stake ; and that there was a priest at the stake, who went about to have him recant ; to whom he said, Away, ‘false prophet ;’ and exhorted the people to beware of him.

When it was day, Mr Brocket (the sheriff,) called to set forward to the burning of W Hunter. Then came the sheriff's son, and embraced him, saying, “William, be not afraid of these men that are here with bows, bills,

and weapons, ready prepared to bring you to the place where you shall be burned." To whom Hunter answered, "I thank God, I am not afraid; for I have cast my account what it will cost me already." Then the sheriff's son could speak no more to him for weeping.

Then Hunter pulled up his gown, and went forward cheerfully, the sheriff's servant taking him by one arm, and his brother by the other; and thus going on the way, he met his father, (according to his dream,) who said to his son, weeping, "God be with thee, son William." William said, "God be with you, good father; be of good comfort; for I hope we shall meet again, when we shall be merry." So William went to the place where the stake stood, (even according to his dream,) where all things were very unready. Then he took a wet broom faggot, kneeled down thereon, and read the 51st Psalm, till he came to these words, "The sacrifice of God is a contrite spirit. A contrite and a broken heart, O God, thou wilt not despise." Then said Mr. Tyrrill, "Thou liest; thou readest false; for the words are, *an humble spirit*." Hunter said, "The translation saith, *a contrite heart*." "Yea, (quoth Mr. Tyrrill,) the translation is false: ye translate books as ye list yourselves, like heretics." "Well, (quoth Hunter,) there is no great difference." Then said the sheriff, "Here is a letter from the queen. If thou wilt recant, thou shalt live; if not, thou shalt be burned." "No, (quoth Hunter,) I will not recant, God willing." Then he arose and went to the stake, and stood upright to it." Then came one Richard Ponde, a bailiff, and made the chain fast about him. Then Mr. Brown said, "Here is not wood enough to burn a leg of him." Then said Hunter, "Good people, pray for me; and make haste and despatch me quickly. Pray for me while you see me alive, and I will pray for you." "How, (quoth Mr. Brown,) pray for thee! I will pray no more for thee than I will pray for a dog." To whom Hunter replied, "Mr. Brown, now you have what you sought for; and I pray God it be not laid to your charge; howbeit, I forgive

you." Then said Mr. Brown, "I ask no forgiveness of thee." "Well, (said Hunter,) if God forgive you, I shall not require my blood at your hands."

Hunter then said, "Son of God, shine upon me!" And immediately the sun shone out of a dark cloud so full in his face, that he was constrained to look another way; at which the people marvelled, because it was so dark a little before. Then he took a faggot of broom, and embraced it in his arms. Then the priest came with a popish book to Hunter, that he might recant. When he saw the priest, he said, "Away, thou false prophet! Beware of them, good people, and come away from their abominations, lest you be partakers of their plagues." Then the priest said, "Look how thou burnest here, so shalt thou burn in hell." Hunter answered, "Thou liest, thou false prophet, away, thou false prophet, away."

There was a gentleman then present, who said, "I pray God have mercy upon his soul." The people said, Amen, amen. And immediately the fire was made. William then cast his psalter right into his brother's hand, who said, "William, think on the passion of Christ, and be not afraid of death." William answered, "I am not afraid." Then he lifted up his hands towards heaven, and said, "Lord, Lord, Lord, receive my spirit;" and casting down his head again into the smothering smoke, he yielded up his life for the truth, sealing it with his blood, to the praise of God, on the 26th of March, 1556.

THE MARTYRDOM OF DR. FARRAR.



ROBERT FARRAR, bishop of St. David's, was called before Dr. Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, with Mr. Hooper, Mr. Rogers, Mr. Bradford, Mr. Sanders, and others, on the 4th of February, 1555, and would then also have been condemned with them; but because at that time the bishop had not leisure, his condemnation was deferred, and he sent to prison again, where he continued till the 14th day of the month. Part of his examinations and answers before the bishops of Winchester, Durham, Worcester, and other commissioners, I have here annexed.

After a few trifling questions, Winchester said, "The queen and the parliament have restored religion to the same state it was in at the beginning of the reign of king Henry VIII. You are in the queen's debt; and her majesty will be good to you, if you will return to the catholic church." Farrar replied, "I made an oath, never to consent nor agree that the bishop of Rome should have any power or jurisdiction within this realm." "Thou art a false knave," says Gardiner. Then Farrar stood up, unbidden, (for before he kneeled,) and said, "No, my lord, I am a true man, I thank God for it. I was born


under King Henry VII. I served King Henry VIII. and King Edward VI. truly; and have served the queen that now is, truly, with my poor heart and word: more I could not do: and I was never false, nor ever shall be, by the grace of God." "How sayest thou; wilt thou be reformable?" says Gardiner. "My lord," replied Farrar, "I have made an oath to God, and to King Henry VIII. and also to King Edward, which I can never break while I live." "Well," cried Gardiner, "you are a froward knave: we will have no more to do with you: we will be short with you; and that you shall know within this seven-night." Farrar said, "I am as it pleaseth your honour to call me; but I cannot break my oath which your lordship yourself made before me." Gardiner then rang a little bell; and Mr. Farrar said, "I pray God, save the king and queen's majesties long to continue to God's glory, and their comforts, and the comfort of the whole realm: and I pray God save all your honours." And so departed.

After these examinations, bishop Farrar remained in prison, uncondemned, till February 14, and then was sent down into Wales, there to receive condemnation. Accordingly, on the 26th of the same month, he was brought to the church of Caermarthen, by Griffith Leyson, esq. sheriff of the said county; and there presented before Dr. Henry Morgan, pretended bishop of St. David's, who received him into his own custody. On Wednesday, March 13, after several appearances, Dr. Farrar was demanded by Henry, the new bishop of St. David's, whether he would recant his heresies, which hitherto he had maintained, and subscribe to the catholic articles? Upon his refusal, the said bishop pronounced the definitive sentence against him; by which he denounced him an heretic excommunicate, and to be given up forthwith to the secular power, namely, to the sheriff of the town of Caermarthen.

On March 30, 1556, bishop Farrar was brought to the place of execution, which was on the south side of the

market-cross, in the market-place of the town of Caermarthen. Here Mr. Rich. Jones, a knight's son, coming to him, seemed to lament the painfulness of the death he had to suffer; unto whom the bishop answered, "That if he saw him once to stir in his burning, he should then give no credit to his doctrine." And as he said, so he right well performed the same; for he stood so patiently, that he never moved, but even as he stood, holding up his stumps, so he still continued, till one Richard Gravell, with a staff smote him upon the head, and struck him down.

THE HISTORY OF RAWLINS WHITE.



RAWLINS WHITE was by calling a fisherman, in which occupation he lived in the town of Cardiff about twenty years, and had a very good name amongst his neighbours. He was a great partaker of the superstition and idolatry used in the reign of King Henry VIII. But after God of his mercy had raised up the light of his gospel, he began partly to dislike that which before he had embraced, and to have some good opinion of that which before had been concealed from him. But being altogether unlearned, he knew no way to satisfy his great desire. At length it came into his mind to take a special remedy to supply his necessity. He had a little son,

whom he sent to school to learn to read English. After the child could read indifferently well, his father every night after supper, summer and winter, would have him read the holy Scripture, and now and then some other good book. In which kind of exercise the old man had such a delight, that within a few years he was not only able to resolve himself touching his former blindness, but also to admonish and instruct others; and therefore when occasion served he would go from one place to another, visiting such as he had best hope in. By which he became, in that country, an open professor of the truth, being never without the company of his little boy. And to this his great industry in the holy Scripture, God added a singular gift of memory, so that he could do that in rehearsing of the text, which men of riper knowledge, by their notes and other helps of memory, could very hardly accomplish.

When he had thus continued in his profession the space of five years, King Edward died. Rawlins did not then use open instruction and admonition, (as before he was wont,) but often in some private place he would call his friends together, and with earnest prayer, and great lamentation, passed away the time, so that by his virtuous instructions, being without any blemish of error, he converted a great number. Mean time he expected every hour to go to prison. Whereupon many of those which had received comfort by his instructions, resorted unto him, and by all means possible persuaded him to dispose of his goods to the use of his wife and children, and to escape that danger which was imminent over his head. Rawlins thanked them most heartily for their good will; and told them plainly, that he had learned one good lesson, "That if he should deny his Master Christ, Christ in the last day would deny and condemn him; and therefore," said he, "I will, by grace, confess him before men, that I may find him in everlasting life."

Soon after he was taken by the officers of the town, and convened before the bishop of Landall, the said bishop

being then at his house beside Chepstow ; by whom, after divers conflicts with him and his chaplains, he was committed to prison in Chepstow. But this his keeping, whether it were by the bishop's means, because he would rid his hands of him, or through the favour of his keeper, was not so severe, but that, if he had listed, he might have escaped oftentimes. Notwithstanding, he continued still, insomuch that at the last he was removed from Chepstow to the castle of Cardiff, where he continued a whole year. Yet his heart was so set on the furtherance of others in the way of salvation, that he was never quiet, but when he was persuading and exhorting such of his friends as commonly came unto him. Insomuch that on Sundays, and other times of leisure, when his friends came to visit him, he would pass away the time in prayer and exhortations, admonishing them always to beware of false prophets which come in sheep's clothing.

When he had continued in Cardiff castle a year, the bishop of Landaff caused him to be brought again from thence to his own house beside Chepstow ; and whilst he continued there, the bishop assayed many ways to reduce him to conformity ; but when Rawlins would in no wise recant, the bishop told him plainly, that he must condemn him as an heretic. " Proceed in your law in God's name," said Rawlins ; " but for an heretic you shall never condemn me while the world standeth." Then said the bishop, " Before we proceed any further, let us pray unto God that he would send some spark of grace upon him, and it may so chance, that God, through our prayer, will turn and convert his heart." When Rawlins heard the bishop say so, " Ah, my lord," quoth he, " now you deal well, and like a goodly bishop, and I thank you heartily for your great charity and gentleness. And therefore, my lord, go to, do you pray to your God, and I will pray to my God. I know that my God will both hear my prayer, and perform my desire." So the bishop with his company fell to prayer ; and Rawlins, turning himself to a pew that stood near him, fell down

upon his knees, covering his face with his hands : and when they had prayed a while, the bishop arose ; and then also arose Rawlins, and came before him. Then said the bishop, " Now, Rawlins, wilt thou revoke thy opinions or not ? " He answered, " My lord, Rawlins you left me, and Rawlins you find me, and by God's grace Rawlins I will continue. Certainly if your petitions had been just and lawful, God would have heard them : but you pray not as you should pray ; and therefore God hath not granted your desire. But I am one poor simple man, as you see, and God hath heard my complaint, and I trust he will strengthen me in his own cause." The bishop then with hot words reprov'd him, and was ready to read the sentence. Howbeit, upon some advice given to him by his chaplains, he thought best first to have a mass, thinking that by so doing, some wonderful work would be wrought in Rawlins. The mass being ended, Rawlins was called again. To whom the bishop used many persuasions ; but the blessed man continued so steadfast in his former profession, that the bishop's talk was altogether in vain. Whereupon he caused the sentence to be read ; which being ended, Rawlins was dismissed, and from thence, by the bishop's commandment, carried again to Cardiff, there to be put into the prison of the town. Here Rawlins passed the time in prayer, and chiefly in singing psalms ; which kind of godly exercise he always used, both at Cardiff castle, and all other places.

Now when the day was coming, wherein he should accomplish the last act of his conflict, he was the night before willed to prepare himself. When he perceived this, he sent forthwith to his wife, and willed her by the messenger, that she should send unto him his wedding-garment ; meaning his shirt, which afterwards he was burned in. Which his wife with great sorrow of heart performed, and early in the morning sent it to him, which he received most joyfully.

When the hour of his execution was come, he was brought out of prison, having on the long shirt, which he called his wedding-garment, and an old russet-coat which he was wont to wear; he had upon his legs an old pair of leather-buskins, which he had used long before. Being brought out of prison, he was guarded by a great company of halberds. "Alas," quoth he, "what meaneth all this? By God's grace I will not start away; but I, with all my heart, give God thanks, that he hath made me worthy to abide all this for his holy name's sake." So he came to a place where his wife and children stood weeping, and making great lamentation: the sudden sight of whom so pierced his heart, that the tears trickled down his face. But he soon after, as though he misliked this infirmity, began to be as it were angry with himself; insomuch that, striking his breast with his hand, he used these words, "Ah flesh, stayest thou me so? wouldst thou fain prevail? Well, I tell thee, do what thou canst, thou shalt not, by God's grace, have the victory." By this time he came to the place appointed for his death, and there found a stake ready set up, with some wood toward the making of the fire: which when he beheld, he set forward very boldly; but in going toward the stake he fell down upon his knees, and in rising again, the earth a little sticking on his nose, he said these words, "Earth unto earth, and dust unto dust: thou art my mother, and unto thee I shall return." Then went he cheerfully and very joyfully, and set his back close unto the stake; and when he had stood there a while, he cast his eye upon one, and called him unto him, and said, "I feel a great fighting between the flesh and the Spirit, and the flesh would very fain have his swing; and therefore I pray you, when you see me any thing tempted, hold your finger up to me, and I trust I shall remember myself."

As he was thus standing with his back close unto the stake, a smith came with a great chain of iron; whom

when he saw, he cast up his hands, and with a loud voice gave God thanks. Then the smith cast the chain about him, and as he was making it fast on the other side, Rawlins said to him, "I pray you, good friend, knock in the chain fast; for it may be that the flesh will strive: but God, of his great mercy, give me strength and patience to abide the extremity." Now when the smith had made him fast to the stake, the officers began to lay on more wood, with a little straw and reed: wherein the good old man was no less occupied than the best; for as far as he could reach his hands, he would pluck the straw and reed, and lay it about him in places most convenient for his speedy despatch. Which thing he did with such a cheerful countenance and familiar gesture, that all men present were astonished.

Thus when all things were ready, so that there lacked nothing but the putting to of the fire, directly over against the stake, in the face of Rawlins, there was a standing erected, whereon stepped up a priest, addressing himself to speak to the people, which were many in number, because it was market-day. When Rawlins perceived him, and considered the cause of his coming, he reached a little straw unto him, and made two little stays and set them under his elbows. Then went the priest forward in his sermon, wherein he spake of many things touching the authority of the church of Rome. In the mean time Rawlins gave such good attention, that he seemed nothing at all disquieted. At last the priest came to the sacrament of the altar, on which he cited the common place of Scripture. Now when Rawlins perceived that he went about not only to preach false doctrine, but also to confirm it by Scripture, he suddenly started up, and beckoned to the people, saying twice, "Come hither, good people, and hear not a false prophet preaching." And then said unto the preacher, "Ah thou naughty hypocrite: dost thou presume to prove thy false doctrine by Scripture? Look in the text what followeth: did not Christ say, 'Do this in remembrance of

me?" After which words, the priest being amazed, forthwith held his peace.

Then some that stood by cried out, "Set to fire." Which being done, the straw and reed immediately cast up both a great and sudden flame. In which flame he bathed his hands so long, until such time as the sinews shrunk, saving that once he wiped his face with one of them. All this while he cried with a loud voice, "O Lord, receive my spirit; O Lord, receive my spirit;" until he could not open his mouth. At last the extremity of the fire was so vehement against his legs, that they were consumed before the rest of his body was burned, which made the body fall over the chain into the fire sooner than it would have done. During which time of his burning, he abode both quietly and patiently, even unto the departure of his life. Thus died this godly old man, Rawlins White, for the testimony of God's truth, in the month of March, 1555.

It is recorded furthermore, that as he was going to his death, he seemed in a manner to be altered in his nature. For before he was wont to go stooping, or rather crooked, through the infirmity of age, having a sad countenance and a very feeble complexion, and withal very soft in speech and gesture; now he not only stretched himself upright, but also bore withal a most pleasant and comfortable countenance, not without great courage and boldness both in speech and behaviour. He had about his head a handkerchief, the hairs of his head, (somewhat appearing beneath his handkerchief,) and also of his beard, were more inclining to white than grey, which gave such a shew and countenance to his whole person, that he seemed to be like an angel.

THE MARTYRDOM
OF
MR. THOMAS HAUKES.

MR. HAUKES was born of an honest stock in the county of Essex ; brought up daintily from his childhood, and like a gentleman. He was of great comeliness and stature ; and well endued with excellent qualities. But his gentle behaviour, and especially his fervent love unto true religion, did surmount all the rest.

As he grew in years, he entered service with the lord of Oxford, where he remained a good space, being right well esteemed and loved of all the household, so long as Edward the Sixth lived. But he dying, Mr. Haukes, misliking the state of things, departed to his own home, where he might more freely give himself to God, and use his own conscience. Here he had a son born, whose baptism was deferred to the third week, for that he would not suffer him to be baptized after the papistical manner ; which thing the adversaries not able to suffer, laying hands upon him, brought him to the earl of Oxford, as not sound in religion ; in that he seemed to condemn the sacraments of the church. The earl intending not to trouble himself in such matters, sent him up to London to Bonner. Then the bishop began to commune with Mr. Haukes, asking, “ What should move him to leave his child unchristened so long ? ” To whom Mr

Haukes answered, "Because we are bound to do nothing contrary to the word of God." "Why? baptism is commanded by the word of God," says Bonner. "Yea," says Haukes, "his institution therein I do not deny." Bonner said, "What deny you then?" "Why," says Haukes, "I deny all things invented and devised by man." Bonner replied, "What things be those that be devised by man, that you be so offended withal?" "Your oil, cream, salt, spittle, candle, and conjuring of water," says Haukes. Then Bonner asked him, "Will ye deny that which all the whole world, and your father hath been contented with?" Haukes answered, "What my father and the whole world hath done, I have nothing to do with: but what God hath commanded me to do, to that I stand." Then replied Bonner, "Ah, sir, you are a right Scripture man. For ye will have nothing but the Scripture. There is a great number of your countrymen of your opinion. Do you know one Baget?" "Yes," says Haukes, "that I do." Then said Bonner to one of his servants, "Go call Baget hither to me;" and with that came Baget. Then the bishop said, "How say you, sir, know ye this man?" Baget replied, "Yea, forsooth, my lord;" with that Baget and Haukes shook hands.

Then said the bishop to Baget, "Sir, this man hath a child which hath lain three weeks unchristened, who refuseth to have it baptized, as it is now used in the church: how say you thereto?" Baget answered, "Forsooth, my lord, I say nothing thereto." "Say nothing thereto," says Bonner, "I will make you tell me whether it be laudable or not." Baget replied, "I beseech your lordship to pardon me; he is old enough, let him answer for himself." To which Bonner answered, "Ah, sir knave, are you at that point with me? Go call me the porter," said he to one of his men. Then the bishop, turning to Baget again, said, "Thou shalt sit in the stocks, and have nothing but bread and water. I perceive I have kept you too well. Have I made thus much of you, and have I you at this point?" Then came the

bishop's man, and said, "The porter is gone to London." Then said the bishop to Baget, "Come with me, and he went away with him, and commanded Haukes away, and bade one of his gentlemen to talk with him, who desired to know of him, with whom he was acquainted in Essex, and what men they were that were his teachers." Haukes answered, "When I see your commission, I will make you an answer."

Then came the bishop again, and sat under a vine in his orchard, and called Baget to him, whom he carried away, and brought again, and called Haukes also, and said to Baget, "How say ye now, sir, unto baptism? Say whether it be to be used in the church as it is now, or not?" Baget answered, "Forsooth, my lord, I say it is good." Then said Bonner, "Befool your heart, could ye not have said so before? Ye have wounded this man's conscience." Then the bishop turned to Haukes, and said, "How say ye now, sir, this man is turned and converted." Says Haukes, "I build my faith neither upon this man, nor upon you, but only upon Christ Jesus." Bonner said, "I perceive you are a stubborn fellow. I must work another way with you, to win you." Then Haukes said, "Whatsoever ye do, I am ready to suffer it: for I am in your hands." Bonner answered, "Well, ye are so. Come your ways, ye shall go in, and I will use you Christian-like: you shall have meat and drink, such as I have in my house; but in any wise talk not." Says Haukes, "I purpose to talk nothing but the word of God." "Ay but," says Bonner, "I will have no heresy talked in my house." Haukes replied, "Why, is the truth become heresy? God hath commanded that we should have none other talk in our houses, in our beds, at our meat, and by the way, but all truth." Then said Bonner, "If you will have my favour, be ruled by my counsel." "Then I trust you will grant me my request," says Haukes. Bonner asked, "What is that?" "That your doctors and servants," says Haukes, "give me no occasion; for if they do, I will surely utter my

conscience." Then he commanded his men to take in Baget, and let not Haukes and him talk together. And so they departed, and went to dinner.

After dinner, Bonner's chaplains and men began to talk with Haukes. But amongst all other, there was one Darbshire, principal of Broad-gates, in Oxford, and the bishop's kinsman, who said, that he was too curious : for that "you will have," said he, "nothing but your little pretty God's book." Haukes asked, "And is it not sufficient for my salvation?" "Yes," said he, "It is sufficient for our salvation, but not for our instruction." "God send me the salvation," says Haukes, "and you the instruction."

As they were thus reasoning, the bishop came, who said, "I gave you a commandment that you should not talk." "And I desired," says Haukes, "that your doctors and servants should give none occasion." Then they went into the orchard again, and there Bonner asked him, "Would not you be contented that your child should be christened after the book set out by King Edward?" Haukes replied, "Yes, with a good will ; it is a thing that I desire." "I thought so," says Bonner. "Well," added he, "will you be content to tarry here, and your child shall be baptized, and you shall not know of it, so that you will agree to it?" To this Haukes would not consent. Then says Bonner, "Well, you are a stubborn young man, I perceive I must work another way with you." Haukes replied, "You are in the hands of God, and so am I." Says Bonner, "Whatsoever you think, I will not have you speak such words unto me." And so they departed till even-song time : and ere even-song was begun, Bonner called for him to come to him into the chapel, and said, "Haukes, thou art a proper young man, and God hath done his part unto thee ; I would be glad to do thee good. Thou knowest that I am thy pastor, and one that should answer for thee. If I would not teach thee well, I should answer for thy soul." Haukes replied, "What I have said, I will stand to,

God willing." Then said Bonner, "Nay, nay, Haukes, thou shalt not be so wilful. Remember Christ bade two go into his vineyard, the one said he would, and went not; the other said he would not, and went." "The last went," said Haukes. "Do thou likewise," says Bonner, "and I will talk friendly with thee. How sayest thou? It is in the sixth of St. John, 'I am the bread of life, and the bread that I will give is my flesh, which I will give for the life of the world. And whosoever eateth my flesh and drinketh my blood, hath everlasting life.'" Haukes answered, "I beseech your lordship to feel my conscience no further than in that, that I was accused in." Bonner then asked him to go to even-song. But Haukes turned his back to go out of the chapel; saying, "I have no edifying thereby, for I understand no Latin. Neither will I pray in this place, nor in any such."

Then said one of Bonner's chaplains, "Let him go, my lord, and he shall be no partaker with us in our prayers." Haukes replied, "I think myself best at ease when I am farthest from you." And so the bishop went to even-song; and he went down and walked between the hall and the chapel in the court, and tarried there till even-song was done; and within an hour after even-song was done, the bishop sent for him into his chamber where he lay himself, and when he came, there was he, and three of his chaplains. Then said the bishop, "You know of the talk that was between you and me, concerning the sacrament. You would not have your conscience sought any farther, than in that you were accused of. Well, you shall answer me to the sacrament of the altar, the sacrament of baptism, the sacrament of penance, and the sacrament of matrimony." "The sacrament of the altar," says Haukes, "why, sir, I do not know it." "Well," says Bonner, "we will make you to know it, and believe it too, ere we have done with you." "No, that you shall never do," says Haukes. Bonner replied, "Yes, a faggot will make you do it." Haukes answered, "No, no, a point for your faggot. What God

thinks meet to be done, that shall you do, and more you shall not do." After some farther talk, when they found that Haukes would by no means allow that the very body and blood of Christ was in the sacrament, the bishop and his chaplains laughed, and said, "Jesu, Jesu, what stubbornness is this!" Then said the bishop to him, "Go you down and drink, for it is fasting-day, Midsummer-Eve: but I think you love neither fasting nor praying." Haukes said, "I will never deny fasting nor praying, so that it be done as it ought to be done, and without hypocrisy or vain glory." Bonner said, "I like you the better for that;" and so they parted for that night.

The next day the bishop went to London, and Haukes tarried still at Fulham. Then the bishop's men desired him to come to mass, but he utterly refused it. On Monday morning, very early, the bishop called for him. There was with him Harpsfield, archdeacon of London, to whom the bishop said, "This is the man that I told you of, who would not have his child christened, nor will have any ceremonies." Then says Harpsfield, "Christ used ceremonies. Did he not take clay from the ground, and take spittle, and make the blind man to see?" "Yes," says Haukes, "but Christ never used it in baptism. If ye will needs have it, put it to the use that Christ put it unto." After some more words, Harpsfield cried, "Beware of pride, brother, beware of pride." Then says Bonner, "Let us make an end here. How say you to the mass, sirrah?" Then Haukes declared, "It is detestable, abominable, and profitable for nothing." Bonner replied, "What, nothing profitable in it? What say you to the epistle and gospel?" Haukes said, "It is good, if it be used as Christ left it to be used." "Well, I am glad that you recant somewhat," says Bonner, "recant all, recant all." Haukes said, "I have recanted nothing, nor will." Then Harpsfield asked him what books he had, and what he required. "I have," says he, "the Testament, Solomon's books, and the Psalter:" and said further, that he required Latimer's books, my

lord of Canterbury's book, Bradford's sermons, and Ridley's books. At which Bonner cried, "Away, away, he will have no books but such as maintain his heresies." And so they parted, (for Harpsfield was booted to ride to Oxford,) and Haukes went to the porter's lodge again.

The next day came thither one Bird, an old bishop, sometime of Chester, who brought Bonner a dish of apples, and a bottle of wine. Then Bonner called Haukes again into the orchard, and said to the old bishop, "This young man hath a child, and will not have it christened." "I deny not baptism," says Haukes. Bonner replied, "Thou art a fool, thou canst not tell what thou wouldst have;" and this he spoke with much anger. Haukes said to him, "A bishop must be blameless, sober, discreet, no chider, nor given to anger." Bonner said, "Thou judgest me to be angry; no, by my faith, I am not," (and struck himself upon the breast.) Then said the old bishop, "Alas, good young man, you must be taught by the church." "No, no, he will have nothing but the Scriptures," says Bonner, "he will have no ceremonies in the church, no not one. What say you to holy water?" "I say to it as to the rest," says he. "Why, the Scriptures allow it," said Bonner. Then Haukes asked, "Where prove you that?" He answered, "In the Book of Kings, where Elisha threw salt into the water." Haukes replied, "You say truth; the children of the prophets came to Elisha, saying, 'The dwelling of the city is pleasant, but the waters be corrupted.' This was the cause why Elisha threw salt into the water, and it became sweet and good: and so when our waters are corrupted, if you can by putting in of salt make them sweet, clear, and wholesome, we will the better believe your ceremonies."

Then Bonner asked, "How say you to holy bread?" Haukes answered, "Even as I said to the other. What Scripture have you to defend it?" Says Bonner, "Have you not read where Christ fed five thousand men with

five loaves and two fishes?" "What," says Hawkes, "will you make that holy bread? There Christ dealt fish with his holy bread. But he did not this miracle, or others, because we should do the like, but because we should believe his doctrine thereby." "Do you believe no doctrine," says Bonner, "but that which is proved by miracles." "No," says Haukes, "for Christ saith, 'These tokens shall follow them that believe: they shall speak with new tongues; they shall cast out devils; and if they drink any deadly thing, it shall not hurt them.'" "With what new tongues do you speak," says Bonner? Haukes replied, "Before I came to the knowledge of God's word, I was a foul blasphemer and filthy talker; since I came to it, I have praised God, and given thanks unto God, and is not this a new tongue." "How do you cast out devils?" says Bonner. Haukes told him, "Christ did cast them out by his word; and he hath left the same word, that whosoever doth believe it, shall cast out devils." Bonner asked him again, "Did you ever drink any deadly thing?" "Yes," says Haukes, "that I have; for I have drank of the pestilent traditions of the bishop of Rome." Bonner said, "Now you shew yourself to be a right heretic; and thou shalt be burned, if thou stand in this opinion." Haukes replied, "Where prove you that Christ or his apostles did kill any man for his faith?" "Did not Paul excommunicate?" says Bonner. "Yes, my lord," says Haukes, "but there is a great difference between excommunicating and burning." Then said Bonner, "Have you not read of the man and the woman in the Acts of the Apostles, whom Peter destroyed." "Yes, forsooth," says Haukes, "I have read of Ananias, and Sapphira his wife, which were destroyed for lying against the Holy Ghost, which serveth nothing to your purpose. If you will have us to grant you to be of God, then shew mercy, for that God requireth." "We will shew such mercy unto you," says Bonner, "as ye shewed unto us; for my bishopric was taken away from me, so that I had not one penny to live

upon." "I pray you, my lord," says Haukes, "what do you give him now that was in the bishopric before you came again to it?" Whereunto he answered never a word, but turned his back, and talked with others, and so departed.

After dinner Bonner desired old bishop Bird to take Haukes into his chamber; "For I would be glad," said he, "if you could convert him." So he took him into his chamber, and sat him down in a chair, and said, "I would to God I could do you some good. You are a young man, and I would not wish you to go too far, but learn of your elders to bear somewhat." "I will bear with nothing," says Haukes, "that is contrary to the word of God." He then looked that the old bishop would have made answer, but he was fast asleep. Haukes then departed out of the chamber alone, and went to the porter's lodge again.

The next day Fecknam came to him, and after some talk said, "How say ye to the woman that came behind Christ, and touched the hem of his vesture? Did not her disease depart from her by that ceremony?" Haukes said, "No, forsooth;" for Christ turned back, and said to Peter, 'Who is that that toucheth me? And Peter said, Thou seest the people throng thee; and askest thou, who touched me? Somebody hath touched me, (saith Christ,) for virtue hath gone out of me.' I pray you, whether was it the virtue that healed the woman, or his vesture?" Fecknam answered, "Both." "Then," says Haukes, "Is not Christ true? For he said, 'Thy faith hath made thee whole.' " Then Fecknam asked again, "How say you, sirrah? 'Christ took bread, and brake it, and said, Take, eat, this is my body.' " Haukes said to him again, "Is every word to be understood as Christ spake it? Christ said, 'I am a door, a vine, a king, a way.' " Fecknam replied, "Christ spake these words in parables." "And why spake he this in parables," said Haukes, "when he said, 'I am a door, a vine, a way,' more than this, when he said, 'This is my

body?' For after the same phrase of speech, as he saith, 'This is my body,' so saith he, 'I am a door, a vine, a king, a way:' he saith not, I am like a door, like a vine." Then Fecknam stood up and said, "I had such a one before me the other day. Alas, these places serve nothing for your purposes. But I perceive you hang and build on them that are at Oxford." Haukes replied, "I build my faith upon no man, and that you well know. For if those men, and as many more as they are, should recant, and deny what they have said or done, yet will I stand to it; and by this you shall know that I build my faith upon no man."

The next day came Dr. Chadsey to the bishop. The bishop declared unto him, that Haukes had stood stubbornly against the ceremonies of the church. Then Chadsey demanded, "What say you to the bishop of Rome?" Haukes said, "From him and all his detestable enormities, Good Lord, deliver us." Chadsey replied, "Marry, so may we say, from King Henry VIII. and all his detestable enormities, Good Lord deliver us." Haukes said, "Where were ye whilst he lived, that ye would not say so?" Chadsey answered, "I was not far." Then says Haukes, "Where were ye in his son's days?" "In prison," quoth the other. "Was it for your well doing?" says Haukes. Bonner spake: "He will by no means come within my chapel, nor hear mass: neither will he have any service but in English." "Christ never spake in English," said Chadsey. Haukes replied, "Neither spake he ever in Latin; but always in such a tongue as the people might be edified thereby. And St. Paul saith, 'That tongues profit us nothing.' He maketh a similitude between the pipe and the harp; and except it be understood what the trumpet meaneth, who can prepare himself to the battle; so if I hear the tongue which I do not understand, what profit I thereby? No more than he hath by the trumpet, that knoweth not what it meaneth." Bonner said, "The order was taken in the catholic church, that the Latin tongue should serve

through the whole world, that they might pray all generally together in one tongue." Haukes answered, "This did your councils of Rome conclude." Then replied Chadsey, "You are to blame, being an unlearned man, to reprove all the councils throughout all the whole world." Haukes said, "I reprove them not, but St. Paul rebuketh them, saying, 'If any man preach any other doctrine than that which I have taught, let him be accursed.'" Chadsey asked, "Hath any man preached any other doctrine unto you?" "Yea," says Haukes, "I have been taught another gospel, since I came into this house, of praying to saints, and to our lady, and to trust in the mass, holy bread, holy water, and in idols." "He that teaches you so, teaches you not amiss," says Chadsey. "He that teaches me so, I will not trust him, nor believe him," says Haukes. Then Bonner said, "Every idol is an image, but every image is not an idol." Then Haukes said, "What difference is there between an idol and an image?" "If it be a false god," says Bonner, "and an image made of him, that is an idol; but if an image be made of God himself, it is no idol, because he is the true God." Haukes replied, "Lay your image of your true God and of your false god together, and ye shall see the difference. Have not your images feet, and go not; eyes, and see not; ears, and hear not; hands, and feel not; mouths, and speak not? and even so have your idols." Then the bishop and the doctor departed in a great fume: and Chadsey said to Haukes, as he was going, "It is a pity that thou shouldst live, or any such as thou art." He answered, "In this case, I desire not to live, but rather to die." Then said Chadsey, "You die boldly, because you would glory in your death, as Joan Butcher did." Haukes replied, "What Joan Butcher did, I have nothing to do with; but I would my part might be to-morrow." "God make you in a better mind," said they both; and so they departed.

The next day Dr. Chadsey preached in the bishop's chapel; then came the porter for Haukes, and said, "My

lord would have you come to the sermon;" and so he went to the chapel-door, and stood without. In his sermon, Dr. Chadsey exalted the sacrament above heaven, and insisted much upon these words of his text, 'Whose sins ye remit, they are remitted and forgiven:' applying them to the bishops and the priests as having power to forgive sins; and said, "All that be of the church will come and receive the same." After dinner, Haukes was called into the chapel, where were certain of the queen's servants, and other strangers. Then Bonner asked him, how he liked Dr. Chadsey's sermon? "As I like the rest of his doctrine," says Haukes. Then said Bonner, "Well, I will leave you here, for I have business. I pray you talk with him," says he to the queen's men. "If you could do him good, I should be glad." Then the queen's men said to him, "Alas, what mean you to trouble yourself about such matters against the queen's proceedings?" Haukes said, "I have answered those matters before them that be in authority; and unless I see you have a farther commission, I will answer you nothing at all." Then said the bishop's men, (which were many,) "My lord hath commanded you to talk with them." Haukes replied, "If my lord will talk with me himself, I will answer him." Then they cried, "Faggots, burn him, hang him, to the prison with him; it is a pity that he liveth; lay irons upon him;" and they spake these words with a great noise. Then, in the midst of all their rage, he departed from them, and went to the porter's lodge again.

The next day the bishop called him into his chamber, and said, "You have been with me a great while, and you are never the better, and therefore I will delay the time no longer, but send you to Newgate." Haukes replied, "My lord, you can do me no better pleasure. I looked for none other, when I came to your hands." Then said Bonner, "Come your ways, ye shall see what I have written." Then he shewed him certain articles concerning the sacrament. Haukes answered to it, as he

did to the other questions. Then he with much flattery counselled him to be persuaded, and to keep out of prison, which he utterly refused ; and so they departed. Haukes supposed that he should have gone to prison the next day, and so he had, save for Dr. Harpsfield, archdeacon of Canterbury, whom the bishop had desired to talk with him, and persuade him concerning the sacrament, and the ceremonies. In discoursing with him, he said, "That the sacrament of the altar was the same body as hung upon the cross." To this Haukes said, "He was upon the cross both alive and dead: which of them was the sacrament?" The archdeacon answered, "He that was alive." "How do you prove that," says Haukes. "You must believe," said Harpsfield. "Doth not St. John say, 'He is condemned already that believeth not?'" Haukes replied, "St. John saith, 'He that believeth not in the Son of God, is already condemned;' but he saith not, he that believeth not in the sacrament is already condemned." Harpsfield answered, "There is no talking with you; for ye are both without faith and learning, and therefore I will talk no more with you;" and so they parted.

The next day in the morning, which was the first day of July, the bishop himself called Haukes from the porter's lodge, commanding him to make himself ready to go to prison, and to take such things with him as he had of his own. And he said, "I neither intend to bribe nor steal, God willing." Then Bonner, bishop of London, wrote his warrant to the keeper of the Gatehouse, Westminster, and there Mr. Haukes remained 13 days; and then the bishop sent two of his men to him, saying, "My lord would be glad to know how you do." He answered them, "I do like a poor prisoner." They said, "My lord would know whether you be the same man that you were when you departed." He said, "I am no changeling." They said, "My lord would be glad that you should do well." He said, "If my lord will me any good, I pray you, desire

him to suffer my friends to come to me." So they said, they would speak for him ; but he heard no more of them till the 3d day of September, when the bishop sent his men to bring him to his palace of London. The bishop of Winchester preached that day at Paul's-Cross ; and the bishop of London said to the keeper, "I think your man will not go to the sermon to-day." Haukes said, "Yes, my lord, I pray you let me go : and that which is good I will receive, and the rest I will leave behind me ;" and so he went.

When the sermon was done, he and his keeper came to the bishop's house, and there remained till dinner was done : and after dinner the bishop called for him, and asked if he were the same man that he was before. Haukes said, "I am no changeling, and none will be." Bonner replied, "You shall find me no changeling neither." And so he returned into his chamber, and there wrote the side of a sheet of paper, and all that while the other stood in the chamber, and as many with him as could well stand. As he stood there, Dr. Smith came to him, saying, That he would be glad to talk brother-like with him. He asked him what he was. Then said he, "Are you he that recanted?" Smith said, "It was no recantation, but a declaration." To be short with you, says Haukes, "I will know whether you will recant any more or not, before I talk with you : " and so departed from him to the other side of the chamber. Then the bishop's men and his chaplains said, Their lord commanded him to talk with him. They that stood by, cried with a loud voice, "Hang him, burn him ; it is a pity that he liveth." Then the parson of Horn-church and Rumford, in Essex, said, "Alas, what do you mean ? a young man to be so stubborn ? there seemeth too much pride in you." Haukes said, "Are you not the parson of Horn-church ?" "Yes, that I am," said he. "Did you not set such a priest in your benefice?" says Haukes. "Yes, for a shift," says the parson. Haukes replied,

“ Like will to like; such master, such man. For I know the priest to be a very vile man.” Then he asked the parson, what kin he was to the weather-cock of Paul’s. At which he fell into a great laughter with the rest of his companions, and said that Haukes railed, adding, “ Beware that you do not decline from the church, for if you do, you will prove yourself an heretic.” Haukes said, “ Even as ye call us heretics, that incline to Christ’s church from your church; so are ye all false prophets that decline from Christ’s church to your church. And by this shall all men know you to be false prophets, if ye say, this saith the church: and will not say, this saith our Lord.” And so he went his way.

Then came another, and said he would talk with him. Haukes said, “ I will see your commission, or ever I talk with you, or with any more.” For he wist not how to be rid of them, they came so thick about him. With that came the bishop, bringing a letter in his hand, which he had written in his name, and read it to him after this manner: ‘ I Thomas Haukes do confess before Edmund, bishop of London, that the mass is abominable and detestable, and full of superstition; and also as concerning the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ, that Christ is in no part thereof, but only in heaven: this I have believed, and this I do believe.’ Then Haukes said, “ Stop there my lord; what have you to do with what I have believed? But what I do believe, to that stand I, and will.” Then he took his pen, and said, that he would cross it out. Then he went further in his writing, and said, ‘ I Thomas Haukes have talked with my said ordinary, and with certain good, godly, and learned men. Notwithstanding, I will still stand in mine opinion.’ Then said Haukes, “ Shall I grant you to be good, godly, and learned men, and yet grant myself to stand in a contrary opinion? I will not grant you to be good, godly, and learned men.” Bonner replied, “ You will grant that you have talked with us. The other I will put out for your pleasure ” Then said all his doctors, “ If your

lordship be ruled by him, he will cause you to put out all." Then he read more, 'Here to this bill have I set my hand.' And then he offered him the bill and pen, and bade him set his hand to it. But Haukes said, "You shall not get my hand to any thing of your making." Then says Bonner, "Wilt thou not set thy hand? It shall be to thy shame for the denying of it." Then he called all his doctors, and said, He would have every man's hand to it that was in the chamber; and so he had all their hands to it: and said, "He that will not set his hand to it, I would he were hanged;" and so said all his chaplains and doctors with a great noise. Then the bishop pushed him on the breast with great anger, and said, he would be even with him, and with all such proud knaves in Essex. Haukes said, "You shall do no more than God shall give you leave." Bonner answered, "This jeer shall not be unpunished, trust to it." "As for your cursings, railings, and blasphemies," says Haukes, "I care not for them; for I know the moths and worms shall eat you, as they eat cloth or wool." Says the bishop, "I will be even with you, when time shall come." Haukes replied, "You may in your malice destroy a man; but when you have done, you cannot do so much as make a finger." Bonner said, "If I do thee wrong, take the law of me." Haukes answered, "Solomon saith, 'Go not to law with a judge, for he will judge according to his own honour.'" Then said Bonner, Solomon saith, 'Give not a fool an answer.'" "What, do you count me a fool?" says Haukes. "Yes, by my troth do I," says Bonner; "and so dost thou me: but God forgive thee, and so do I." Then took Bonner the bill and read it again; and when he saw that he could not have his hand to it, he would have had him take it into his hand, and give it to him again. Haukes asked, "What needs that ceremony? It neither shall come into my hand, heart, or mind." Then he wrapt it up, and put it in his bosom, and in a great anger went his way, and called for his horse, and the same day rode in

visitation into Essex: and so Haukes went to prison, from whence he came. The substance of this examination was written by Thomas Haukes himself, which he concluded thus, "I desire all faithful men to pray unto God to strengthen me unto the end. Pray, pray, pray, gentle brethren, pray "

After all these private conferences, the bishop seeing no hope to win him, was fully set to proceed openly against him. Whereupon, Thomas Haukes shortly after was cited with T Tomkins, S. Knight, W Pygot, J. Lawrence, and W Hunter, to appear in the bishop's consistory, the 8th day of February, 1555. At which appearance was laid against him, first, the bill of his confession, written with Bonner's hand, which he denied to subscribe. After which bill being read, and he constantly standing to the said confession, the bishop assigned him with the others, the day following, which was the 9th of February, to appear again, to give a resolute answer. Which day being come, and the prisoners being severally called, at the coming of Thomas Haukes, the bishop willed him to remember what was said to him yesterday, and now, while he had time, to advise with himself what he would answer, for he stood upon life and death. "Well," quoth Mr. Haukes, "I will willingly receive whatsoever shall be put upon me." Then were certain other articles commenced against him by the bishop. To the which matter being read, the said Haukes answered openly, saying, That it was true, and that he was glad it was so true as it was: this was in the forenoon. In the afternoon, the said Haukes appearing again, and being exhorted by the bishop, with many fair words, to return again to the bosom of the mother church, "No, my lord, (said he,) that will I not; for if I had an hundred bodies, I would suffer them all to be torn in pieces, rather than I would abjure." Whereupon, Bonner read the sentence of death upon him. Nevertheless, his execution was delayed, and he remained in prison till the


10th day of June, 1555. Then was he committed to the lord Rich, who, being assisted with power sufficient, had him down into Essex, there to suffer martyrdom, in Coggeshall.

Mr. Haukes, by the way, used much exhortation to his friends; and whensoever opportunity served, he would familiarly admonish them. A little before his death, certain of his familiar acquaintance, seemed not a little confirmed both by his constancy and his talk; yet, being frightened with the sharpness of the punishment which he was going to, privily desired, that in the midst of the flame, he would shew them some token, whereby they might be certain whether the pain of burning was so great that a man might not keep his mind quiet and patient. Which thing he promised them to do; and between them it was agreed, that if the pain were tolerable, then he should lift up his hands above his head towards heaven, before he gave up the ghost.

When the hour was come, he was led away to the place appointed for the slaughter, by the lord Rich and his assistants, who being now come unto the stake, mildly addressed himself to the fire, having a strait chain cast about his middle, with no small multitude of people on every side compassing him about. Unto whom, after he had spoken many things, especially unto the lord Rich, reasoning with him of the innocent blood of saints, at length, after his fervent prayers poured out unto God, the fire was set unto him. When he had continued long in the flames, and his speech was taken away by the violence thereof, and his skin was so drawn together, and his fingers so consumed, that the generality of the people thought he had been dead, suddenly the blessed servant of God, being mindful of his promise, reached up his hands, all flaming with fire, (which was marvellous to behold,) over his head to the living God, and, with great rejoicing as it seemed, struck, or clapped them three times together. At the sight whereof, there followed such applause and

outcry of the people, and especially of them who understood the matter, that the like hath not commonly been heard: and so the blessed martyr, straightway sinking down into the fire, gave up his spirit.

THE HISTORY OF MR. JOHN BRADFORD.



MR. BRADFORD was born at Manchester, in Lancashire. His parents brought him up in learning from his infancy, until he attained such knowledge in the Latin tongue, and skill in writing, that he was able to gain his own living. Then he became servant to sir John Harrington, who in the great affairs of King Henry VIII. and King Edward VI. which he had in hand when he was treasurer of the king's camps and buildings, had such experience of Bradford's activity, his expertness in the art of auditors, as also of his trustiness, that not only in those affairs, but in many others of his private business, he used his faithful service above all others.

Thus continued Bradford certain years in a right honest and good way of life, after the course of this world; but the Lord had elected him to a better function. For which he forsook his worldly affairs, and, after a just account given to his master of all his doings, he departed from him, to further the kingdom of God by the ministry of his holy word. He then gave himself wholly to the

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study of the Scriptures ; which to accomplish the better, he departed from the Temple at London, and went to the University of Cambridge. Here his diligence in study, his profiting in knowledge and godly conversation, so pleased all men, that within one year after he had been there, the university gave him the degree of master of arts. Immediately after the master and fellows of Pembroke-Hall gave him a fellowship in their college ; yea, Martin Bucer so liked him, that he held him most dear, and often exhorted him to bestow his talent in preaching. Unto whom he always answered, that he was unable to serve in that office, through want of learning. Bucer was wont to reply, "If thou hast not fine bread, give the poor people barley-bread, or whatsoever else the Lord hath committed unto thee." While he was thus persuaded to enter into the ministry, Dr. Ridley, bishop of London, called him to take the degree of a deacon. This being done, he obtained for him a licence to preach, and gave him a prebend in his cathedral church of St. Paul. In this office, by the space of three years, how diligently he laboured, many parts of England can testify. He opened and reproved sin sharply ; he preached Christ crucified sweetly ; he impugned heresies forcibly ; and persuaded men to a godly life earnestly. After the death of King Edward he still continued diligent in preaching, till he was deprived both of his office and liberty by the council. To do which they took occasion for such an act, as among Turks and infidels would have been with thankfulness rewarded.

The fact was this: On August 13, in the first year of Queen Mary, Mr. Bourn, afterwards bishop of Bath, made a sermon at Paul's-Cross to set popery abroad, in such wise that it moved the people to no small indignation. Neither could the reverence of the place, nor the presence of bishop Bonner, stay their rage, but the more they spoke, the more the people were incensed. At length Bourn, seeing himself in such peril, desired Bradford, (who was in the pulpit behind him,) to come forth

and speak to the people. Mr. Bradford did so. Whom as soon as the people saw, all the raging ceased, and in the end every man quietly departed to his house. Yet Bourn thought himself not sure of his life; wherefore he desired Bradford not to depart from him till he was in safety. This also he performed: for while the mayor and sheriffs led Bourn to the school-master's house, Bradford went at his back, shadowing him from the people with his gown, and so set him safe. The same Sunday, in the afternoon, Bradford preached at Bow church, and reprov'd the people sharply for their seditious misbehaviour. After this he abode still in London with an innocent conscience.

Within three days after, in the month of August, 1553, he was sent to the Tower, where the queen then was, to appear before the council. There was he charged with this act of saving of Bourn, which act they called seditious, and also objected against him for preaching; and so he was committed to the Tower, where he lay till the 22d of January, 1555. On which day he was called before bishop Gardiner, and the other commissioners, to be examined: who, being come into the presence of the council sitting at a table, kneeled down on his knee, but immediately by the lord chancellor was bidden to stand up, which he did. When he was risen, the lord chancellor earnestly looked upon him; and he in like manner looked on the lord chancellor; only once he cast up his eyes to heaven, and sighed for God's grace. Then the lord chancellor, as it were amazed, and something troubled, spake thus: That he had been imprisoned a long time justly for his seditious behaviour at Paul's-Cross, the 13th of August, and for taking upon him to preach there without authority. But now, (quoth he,) the queen's highness offers you mercy. Bradford replied, "My lord, and lords all, I confess that I have been long imprisoned, and (with humble reverence be it spoken,) unjustly, for that I did nothing seditiously, in word or act, by preaching or otherwise, but rather sought truth,

peace, and all godly quietness, as an obedient and faithful subject, both in going about to save the bishop of Bath, (then Mr. Bourn,) and in preaching for quietness accordingly." At these words the lord chancellor said, "That is a loud lie; for the act was seditious, as you my lord of London can bear witness." Says Bonner, "You say true, my lord; I saw him with mine own eyes, when he took upon him to rule and lead the people malepertly, thereby declaring that he was the author of the sedition." Mr. Bradford replied, "My lords, notwithstanding my lord bishop's seeing and saying, yet I have told the truth, as one day my Lord God Almighty shall reveal to all the world, when we shall all appear before him: in the mean season I am ready to suffer whatsoever God shall permit you to do unto me."

The lord chancellor said, "I know thou hast a glorious tongue; but all is lies thou speakest. I have not forgot how stubborn thou wast when thou wast before us in the Tower: I have not forgotten thy behaviour and talk, for which thou hast been deservedly kept in prison, as one that would have done more hurt, than I will speak of. But to leave this matter: how sayest thou now? Wilt thou return again, and receive the queen's mercy and pardon?" Bradford answered, "My lord, I desire mercy with God's mercy, but mercy with God's wrath, God keep me from. Although, (I thank God,) my conscience doth not accuse me, that I did speak any thing whereof I should need receive the queen's mercy or pardon. For all that I spake was both agreeable to God's laws, and the laws of the realm at that present, and did make much for quietness." "Well, (quoth the chancellor,) if thou make this babbling, yet being altogether ignorant and vain-glorious, and wilt not receive mercy, know for truth, that the queen is minded to make a purgation of all such as thou art." Bradford replied, "The Lord, before whom I stand, as well as before you, knoweth what vain-glory I have sought. His mercy I desire, and also would be glad of the queen's favour, to live as a subject without a clog of conscience;

but otherwise the Lord's mercy is better to me than life. And I know to whom I have committed my life, even into his hands who will keep it, so that no man may take it away before it be his pleasure. There are twelve hours in the day, and as long as they last, so long shall no man have power thereon. Therefore his will be done. Life in his displeasure is worse than death, and death with his favour is true life." "Be sure, (quoth the chancellor,) as thou hast deceived the people with false and devilish doctrine, so shalt thou receive." To which Bradford said, "I have not deceived the people, nor taught any other doctrine, than, by God's grace, I am ready to confirm with my life."

Then Mr. Secretary Bourn said, "It was reported this parliament-time, by the earl of Derby, that he hath done more hurt by letters, and exhorting those that have come to him in prison, than ever he did when he was abroad by preaching. How say you, sir, have you not thus seditiously written to, and exhorted the people?" Bradford replied, "What I have written, I have written."

Whereupon Richard Southwell spoke thus, "Lord God! what an arrogant and stubborn boy is this, that thus stoutly behaveth himself before the queen's council!" Whereat one looked upon another with disdainful countenances. Then said Mr. Bradford, "My lords and masters, the Lord who is, and will be, judge to us all, knoweth, that as I am certain I stand now before his majesty; so with reverence in his sight I stand before you, and unto you accordingly, in words and gesture, I desire to behave myself. If you otherwise take it, I doubt not but God, in his time, will reveal it. In the mean season, I shall suffer, with all due obedience, your sayings and doings too, I hope." "These are gay words, (quoth the chancellor,) but as in all other things, so herein also, thou dost nothing but lie." Hereupon Bradford said, "Well, I would God, the author of truth, and abhorrer of lies, would pull my tongue out of my head before you all, if I have purposed, or do purpose to

lie before you, whatsoever you shall ask me." Then said the chancellor, "We shall never have done with thee, I perceive: be short, be short. Wilt thou have mercy?" Bradford answered, "I pray God give me his mercy, and if therewith you will extend your's, I will not refuse it, but otherwise I will none."

After some further discourse, the under-marshal was called in; to whom the chancellor said, "You shall take this man to you, and keep him close without conference with any man, but by your knowledge; and suffer him not to write any letters, for he is in another manner of charge to you now, than he was before." And so they ended the first examination, and departed.

The second examination of Mr. Bradford was January 29, at St. Mary Overy's church, where, standing before the lord chancellor and other bishops, the lord chancellor spoke to this effect: "Advise you well, Mr. Bradford, there is yet space and grace before we so proceed, that you be committed to the secular power." Then Mr. Bradford began to speak thus: "My lord, and my lords all, as I now stand in your sight before you, so I humbly beseech your honours, to consider, that you sit in the seat of the Lord, who (as David doth witness,) is in the congregation of judges, and demonstrate yourselves to follow him; that is, seek no guiltless blood, nor hunt by questions to bring into the snare them that are out of the same. At this present I stand before you guilty or guiltless; if guilty, give sentence accordingly; if guiltless, then give me the benefit of a subject, which hitherto I could not have." "This; and all thy gesture, (quoth the chancellor,) declareth but hypocrisy and vain-glory." And further, he made much ado to purge himself that he sought not guiltless blood, and so began a long process, how that Bradford's act at Paul's-Cross was presumptuous and arrogant. Bradford replied, "My lord, whereas you accuse me of hypocrisy and vain-glory, I must and will leave it to the Lord's declaration, which one day will open your's and my truth. In the mean season, I will

content myself with the testimony of mine own conscience, which if it yielded to hypocrisy, I could not but have God to be my foe also ; and so both God and man would be against me. And as for my act at Paul's-Cross, and behaviour before you in the Tower, I doubt not but God will reveal it to my comfort. For if ever I did a thing, which God used for a publick benefit, I think that my deed was one ; and yet for it I have been kept a long time in prison." The lord chancellor said, " All men may well see thine hypocrisy : for if for thine oath's sake thou didst not answer us before, then wouldst thou not have spoken as thou didst, and have answered me at the first. This is but a starting-hole to hide thyself in, because thou darest not answer, and so wouldst escape ; blinding the simple people's eyes, as though of conscience thou didst all."

Bradford replied again, " That which I spake at the first, was not an answer to what you spake to me ; and therefore I needed not to allege for me mine own oath. For I thought you would have more weighed what I spake than you did. But when I perceived you did not consider it, but came to ask matter, whereto by answering, I should consent to the practising of jurisdiction on the bishop of Rome's behalf here in England, and so be forsworn ; then of conscience I spake as I do yet again speak, that I dare not for conscience sake answer you. And therefore I seek no starting-holes, nor go about to blind the people, as God knoweth. For if your honours shall tell me, that you do not ask me any thing, whereby mine answering should consent to the bishop of Rome's jurisdiction, ask me wherein you will, and I will answer you as flatly as ever any did. I am not afraid of death, I thank God ; for I look, and have looked for nothing else at your hands of long time ; but I am afraid when death cometh, I should have matter to trouble my conscience, by the guiltiness of perjury, and therefore I answer as I do." " These be gay, glorious words, (said the lord chancellor,) full of hypocrisy and vain-glory. Dost thou

not know that I sit here as bishop of Winchester, in mine own diocese, and therefore may do this which I do, and more too?" Mr. Bradford replied, "My lord, give me leave to ask you this question, that my conscience may be out of doubt in this matter. Tell me here, before God, all this audience being witness, that you demand nothing whereby mine answering should confirm the practice of jurisdiction for the bishop of Rome in England, and your honour shall hear me give you as flat and as plain answers to whatsoever you shall demand, as ever any did."

Here my lord chancellor again was much offended, still saying that Bradford durst not answer. But Bradford answered, "That howsoever his honour took him, yet he was assured of his meaning, that no fear, but the fear of perjury, made him unwilling to answer. For as for death, my lord, (said he,) as I know there are twelve hours in the day, so with the Lord my time is appointed. And when it shall be in his good time, then I shall depart hence; but in the mean season I am safe enough, though all the people had sworn my death. Into his hands have I committed it; his good will be done. And, saving mine oath, I will answer you in this behalf, that the oath against the bishop of Rome was not, nor is, against charity, nor against God's Word, but with it, being taken in such sense as it may well be taken; that is, attributing to the king's power the sovereignty in all his dominion. For I find it in many places, but especially in the 13th chapter to the Romans, where St. Paul writeth, 'Let every soul be subject to the superior power:' but what power? 'The power verily which beareth the sword;' which is not the spiritual, but the temporal power. As Chrysostom full well noteth upon the same place, shewing that bishops, prophets, and apostles, are obedient to the temporal magistrates.

Here the lord chancellor was yet more stirred, and said, How that Bradford went about to deny all obedience to the queen for his oath: and so he began to tell a long

tale, how if a man should make an oath to pay an hundred pounds by such a day, and the man to whom it was due should forgive the debt, the debtor should say, No, you cannot do it, for I am forsworn then. Here Bradford desired my lord chancellor not to trifle; saying, He wondered his honour accounted solemn oaths made to God trifles, and made so much of vows made to the bishops concerning the marriage of priests. At these words the lord chancellor was much offended, and said, He did not trifle; but (said he,) thou goest about to deny obedience to the queen, who requireth obedience to the bishop of Rome. "No, my lord, (says Bradford,) I do not deny obedience to the queen, if you would discern between *genus* and *species*. Because I may not obey in this, therefore I may not obey in the other, is not good reasoning. As if a man sell a piece of his inheritance, yet all his inheritance is not sold; so, in this case, all obedience I deny not, because I deny obedience in this branch." "I will none of these similitudes," says the chancellor. Bradford said, "I would not use them, if you went not about to persuade the people that I meant that which I never meant; for I myself not only mean obedience, but will give ensample of all most humble obedience to the queen's highness, so long as she requireth not obedience against God." Here the lord chancellor was thoroughly moved, and said still, That Bradford had written seditious letters, and perverted the people; and did stoutly stand as though he would defend the erroneous doctrine in king Edward's time, against all men; and now, quoth he, he saith, He dares not answer. To this Bradford answered, "I have written no seditious letters, I have not perverted the people; but that which I have written and spoken, that will I never deny, by God's grace. And whereas your lordship saith, that I dare not answer you; that all men may know that I am not afraid, saving mine oath, ask me what you will, and I will plainly make you answer, by God's grace, although I now see my life lieth thereon. 'But, O Lord, into thy hands I commit it, come what

will: only sanctify thy name in me as in an instrument of thy grace. Amen.' Now ask what you will, and you shall see that I am not afraid, by God's grace, flatly to answer."

Then, after he had been asked some questions concerning the sacrament, to which he gave free and open answers, he said, "I have been now a year and almost three quarters in prison, and in all this time you never questioned me hereabout, when I might have spoken my conscience frankly, without peril; but now you have a law to put to death, if a man answer freely; and so now you come to demand this question. Ah, my lord, Christ used not this way to bring men to faith. No more did the prophets or apostles. Remember what Bernard writeth to Eugenius, the pope: 'I read that the apostles stood to be judged, but I read not, that they sat to judge. This shall be—that was.'" Here the lord chancellor was appalled, as it seemed, and said, that he used not this means. "It was not my doing, (quoth he,) although some there be that think this to be the best way: I, for my part, have been challenged for being too gentle, oftentimes:" which thing the bishop of London confirmed; and almost all the audience said, that he had been ever too mild and gentle. At which words Bradford spoke thus: "My lord, I pray you, stretch out your gentleness, that I may feel it, for hitherto I never felt it." The lord chancellor said, That with all his heart, not only he, but the queen's highness, would stretch out mercy, if he would return. "Return, my lord! (says Bradford,) God save me from that going back: I mean it not so; but I mean, that I was three quarters of a year in the Tower; you forbade me pen, ink, and paper; and never in all that time, nor since, did I feel any gentleness from you. I have rather hitherto found, as I looked for, extremity. And I thank God that I perceive now ye have kept me in prison thus long, not for any matter you had, but for matter you would have: God's good will be done."

Here divers telling my lord it was dinner-time, he rose

up, saying, In the afternoon they would speak more with him. So he was had into the vestry, and was there all that day, till dark night, and then was conveyed again to prison. Thither came to him Hussey and Dr. Seton, and with flatteries strove to persuade him to desire respite, and some learned men to confer withal. But Bradford kept still one answer: "I cannot, nor I will not so offend the people. I doubt not; but am most certain of the doctrine I have taught." Here Dr Seton grew hot, and called Bradford arrogant, proud, vain-glorious, and whatsoever it pleased him. Then Bradford, perceiving by them that he should shortly be called for, besought them both to give him leave to talk with God, and to beg wisdom and grace of him; "for (quoth he,) otherwise I am helpless." And so they with much ado departed, and Bradford went to God and made his prayers. Shortly after they were gone, he was led again to St. Mary Overy's church, and there tarried till eleven o'clock. Then he was called; and being brought before the lord chancellor and other the bishops there sitting, the lord chancellor made an exhortation to him to recant his doctrine.

After the lord chancellor had ended, Bradford began thus: "As yesterday I besought your honours to set in your sight the majesty and presence of God, to follow him, which seeketh not to subvert the simple by subtle questions; so I humbly beseech every one of you to do this day; for you know that guiltless blood will cry for vengeance. And this I beseech not your lordships to do as one that taketh upon me to condemn you herein, but that ye might be more admonished to do that which none doth so much as he should do. Again, as yesterday I protested against the bishop of Rome's jurisdiction; so do I again this day, lest I should be perjured. And last of all, as yesterday the answers I made, were saving my oath, so mine answers shall be this day: and this I do, that when death (which I look for at your hands,) shall come, I may not be troubled with the guilt of perjury. Then the lord chancellor said, "What! I perceive we

must begin all again with thee. Did I not yesterday tell thee plainly, that thou madest a conscience where none should be? Did I not make it plain that the oath against the bishop of Rome was an unlawful oath?"

"No, indeed, my lord, (said Bradford;) you said so, but you proved it not yet, nor ever can do." The lord chancellor then said, "O Lord God! what a fellow art thou? Thou wouldst go about to bring into the people's heads that we, all the lords of the parliament house, the knights and burgesses, and all the whole realm, are perjured. O what an heretic is this! Here, good people, you may see what a senseless heretic this fellow is." At length they came to this issue, Who should be judge of the lawfulness of the oath? Bradford said, The Word of God; according to Christ's word, John xii. 'My word shall judge;' and according to the testimony of Isaiah and Micah, that God's word, coming out of Jerusalem, shall give sentence among the Gentiles. "By this word, (quoth Bradford,) my lord, I will prove the oath against the bishop of Rome's authority, to be a good, a godly, and a lawful oath." So that the lord chancellor left his hold. And as the other day he pretended a denial of the queen's authority, so did he now. But Bradford now, as the day before, proved, that obedience in this point to the queen, if she should demand an oath to the bishop of Rome, being denied, was not a general denial of her authority, and of obedience to her.

And thus much ado was made about this matter. In the end, the lord chancellor said, The queen might dispense with the oath, and did so, to all the whole realm. But Bradford said, That the queen's highness could do no more but remit her right; as for the oath made to God, she could never remit, forasmuch as it was made unto God. At which words the lord chancellor chafed wonderfully, and said, he slandered the realm of perjury; "And therefore," quoth he to the people, "you may see how this fellow taketh upon him to have more knowledge and conscience than all the wise men of England, and yet

hath no conscience at all." Then said Bradford, "Well, my lord, let all the standers-by see who hath conscience. I have been a year and a half in prison : now, before all this people, declare why I was imprisoned, or what cause you had to punish me. There sitteth by you my lord of Bath, who desired me himself, for the passion of Christ, I would speak to the people. Upon whose words I, coming into the pulpit, had like to have been slain with a dagger, (which was hurled at him, I think,) for it touched my sleeve. He then prayed me I would not leave him; and I promised him, as long as I lived, I would take hurt before him that day; and so went out of the pulpit and entreated the people, and at length brought him myself into a house. Besides this, in the afternoon I preached at Bow church, and there going up into the pulpit, one willed me not to reprove the people; for, said he, you will never come down alive if you do it. And yet, notwithstanding, I did in that sermon reprove their act, and call it sedition, at the least twenty times. For all which my doing, I have received this recompence; prison for a year and a half and more, and death now, which you go about. Let all men judge where conscience is!"

While he was speaking these words, there was an endeavour to interrupt him; but he still spoke on till he had made an end. And then the lord chancellor said, That for all that fair tale, his act at the cross was naught. Bradford said, "No, my act was good, as you yourself did bear witness with me. For when I was at first before you in the Tower, you yourself said, that my act was good, but (said you,) thy mind was evil."

Here the lord chancellor was offended, and said, that he had never said so. Then he said, that Bradford was put in prison at the first, because he would not yield to the queen's religion. Bradford then answered, "Why, my lord? Your honour knoweth that you would not reason with me in religion, but said a time should afterwards be found when I should be talked with. But if it were, as your lordship saith, that I was put in prison for religion,

in that my religion was then authorized by the public laws of the realm, could conscience punish me, or cast me in prison therefore? Wherefore, let all men be judges in whom conscience wanteth." Here my lord chancellor was smitten blank. At last he said, "You are an heretic." "Yea," quoth the bishop of London, "he wrote letters to Mr. Pendleton; your honour saw the letters." "This is not true," quoth Bradford; "I never wrote to Mr. Pendleton since I came to prison, and therefore I am unjustly spoken of."

All being now answered, the lord chancellor began a new matter. "Sir," quoth he, "in my house, the other day, you did condemn the queen's mercy, and further said, That you would maintain the doctrine taught in king Edward's days against all men." Bradford replied, "Well, I am glad that all men see now you have had no matter for which to imprison me before that day. Now, I say, that I did not condemn the queen's mercy, but would have had it, (though if justice might take place, I need it not,) so that I might have had it with God's mercy; that is, without doing or saying any thing against God and his truth. And as for maintenance of doctrine, because I cannot tell how you will stretch this word *maintenance*, I will repeat again that which I spake. I said, I was more confirmed in the religion set forth in king Edward's days, than ever I was; and if God so would, I trust I should declare it by giving my life for the confirmation thereof. So I said then, and so I say now. Otherwise to maintain it, than pertains to a private person, I thought not, nor think not."

Then said the lord chancellor, "Well, Yesterday thou didst maintain false heresy concerning the sacrament, and therefore we gave thee respite to this day to deliberate." "My lord," says Bradford, "as I said at the first, I spake nothing of the sacrament but that which you allowed, and therefore you reproved it not, nor gave me any time to deliberate. I never denied, nor taught, but that to faith, whole Christ, body and blood, was as present as the

bread and wine to the due receiver." "Aye," says the lord chancellor, "but dost thou not believe that Christ's body, naturally and really, is there, under the forms of bread and wine?" Bradford answered, "My lord, I believe that Christ is present there to the faith of the due receiver; as for transubstantiation, I plainly and flatly tell you, I believe it not." After much cavilling, the lord chancellor began to read the excommunication. And in the excommunication, when he came to the name of John Bradford, layman,—“Why,” quoth he, “art thou not a priest?” Bradford answered, “No, nor ever was; either priest, or beneficed, or married, or any preacher, before public authority had established religion; or preacher after public authority had altered religion; and yet I am thus handled at your hand: but God, I doubt not, will give his blessing where you curse.” And so he fell down on his knees, and heartily thanked God that he counted him worthy to suffer for his name's sake. Then praying God to give him repentance and a good mind, after the excommunication was read, he was delivered to the sheriff of London, and had to the Clink, and afterwards to the Poultry-Compter; this being purposed, that he should be delivered from thence to the earl of Derby, to be conveyed into Lancashire, and there to be burned in Manchester, where he was born; but their purpose concerning the place was afterward altered.

Upon the 25th of February, Percival Creswell, with Mr. Harpsfield, archdeacon of London, came to Mr. Bradford. After formal salutations, he made a long oration, shewing, That all men, even infidels, Turks, Jews, and libertines, desire felicity as well as the Christians, and how that every one thinks they shall attain to it by their religion. To which Bradford answered, “You speak truly.” “Well then,” says Harpsfield, “here is the matter, to know the way to this heaven.” Bradford replied, “We may not invent any manner of ways. There is but one way, that is, Jesus Christ, as he himself doth witness—‘I am the way.’ Whoso believeth in Christ, the

same shall be saved." Harpsfield answered, "No; not all that believe in Christ; for some shall say, 'Lord, Lord, have we not cast out devils?' &c. But Christ will answer in the day of judgment to these, 'Depart from me, I know you not.'" Bradford replied, "You must make a difference betwixt believing, and saying, I believe. As, for example, If one should say and swear he loveth you,—for all his saying, you will not believe him, when you see he goeth about to utter and do all the evil against you that he can." Then said Harpsfield, "Well, this is not material. There is but one way—Christ. How come we to know him? Where shall we seek to find him?" Bradford answered, "We must seek him by his Word, and in his Word, and after his Word." "Very good," says Harpsfield; "but tell me, now, how we come first into the company of them that could tell us this, but by baptism." Bradford answered, "Baptism is the sacrament, by the which we are *outwardly* engrafted into Christ; I say, *outwardly*, because I dare not exclude from Christ all that die without baptism. I will not tie God, where he is not bound. Some infants die, whose parents desire baptism for them, and cannot have it." Harpsfield said, "To these we may think, perchance, that God will shew mercy." "Yea," says Bradford, "the children whose parents do condemn baptism I will not condemn; because the child shall not bear the father's offence."

"Well, we agree," says Harpsfield, "that by baptism then we are brought, and (as a man would say,) begotten to Christ. For Christ is our father, and the church, his spouse, is our mother. As all men naturally have Adam for their father, and Eve for their mother; so all spiritual men have Christ for their father, and the church for their mother: and as Eve was taken out of Adam's side, so was the church taken out of Christ's side; whereout flowed blood for the satisfaction and purgation of our sins." Bradford replied, "All this is truly spoken." "Now then tell me," says the archdeacon, "whether this

church of Christ hath not been always?" "Yes, (says Bradford) since the creation of man, and shall be for ever." Then said Harpsfield, "Very good: but tell me whether this church is a visible church, or not?" Bradford answered, "It is no otherwise visible, than Christ was here on earth; that is, by no exterior pomp or shew that setteth her forth commonly; and therefore to see her, we must put on such eyes, as good men put on to see and know Christ, when he walked here on earth: for as Eve was of the same substance that Adam was of, so was the church of the same substance that Christ was of; 'flesh of his flesh, and bone of his bone,' as St. Paul saith, Ephes. v. Look therefore how Christ was visibly known to be Christ, when he was on earth, that is, by considering him after the Word of God, so is the church known." The archdeacon then brought several marks, whereby to discern the true church of Christ, but Bradford objected to them all. Whereupon he said, "If we knew that you had the Holy Ghost, then we could believe you." Bradford would have answered, but as he was speaking, Mr. Harpsfield rose up, and insisting that Bradford was out of the church, he departed, saying, that he would come again the next morning.

Upon the 16th of February in the morning, archdeacon Harpsfield, and other two with him, came to Mr. Bradford, and after some talk, the archdeacon began to tell him, he was in a very perilous case, and that he was sorry to see him so settled. "As for death," said he, "whether it be nigh or far off, I know not, neither signifies it, so that you die well." Bradford replied, "I doubt not in this case but I shall die well; for as I hope, and am certain, my death shall please the Lord, so I trust I shall die cheerfully to the comfort of his children." "But what if you be deceived?" says Harpsfield. Bradford answered, "What if you should say the sun does not shine now?" [The sun then shone through the window where they sat.] Then Harpsfield said, "Well, I am sorry to see you so secure and careless." "Indeed,"

says Mr. Bradford, "I am more carnally secure and careless than I should be : God make me more vigilant ! But in this case I cannot be so secure, for I am most assured I am in the truth." After much more talk, Harpsfield said, "If I could do you good, I would be right glad, either in soul or body. For you are in a perilous case." "Sir, I thank you for your good-will," replied Bradford. "My case is as it is. I thank God it was never so well with me ; for death to me shall be life." Being then moved to ask the archdeacon to procure him time to confer, he answered, "I will not desire any body to sue for time for me. I am not wavering, neither would I, that any body should think I were so. But if you have the charity and love you pretend towards me, and therefore think that I am in an error, I think the same should move you to do, as you would be done unto. As ye think of me, so do I of you, that you are far out of the way ; and I not only think it, but am most sure of it." And with such like talk they departed.

On the 23d of the same month the archbishop of York and the bishop of Chichester, came to the Compter to speak with Bradford. My lord of York began to tell Bradford, how that they were not sent to him, but of love and charity they came to him : and after commending his godly life, he concluded with asking, "How he was certain of salvation, and of his religion?" Bradford answered, "By the Word of God ; even by the Scriptures I am certain of salvation and religion." The archbishop replied, "Very well ; but how do you know the Word of God and the Scriptures, but by the church ?" "Indeed, my lord, (said Bradford) the church was and is a means to bring a man more speedily to know the Scriptures and the Word of God ; as was the woman of Samaria a means that the Samaritans knew Christ. But as when they had heard him speak, they said, 'Now we know that He is Christ ; not because of thy words, but because we ourselves have heard him ;' so after we come to the hearing and reading of the Scriptures shewed unto us, and discerned

by the church, we do believe them, and know them as Christ's sheep ; not because the church saith they are the Scriptures, but because they be so ; being thereof assured by the same Spirit which wrote and spake them." After much more discourse on this head, the archbishop said, " It is evident that you are too far gone ; but let us come to the church, out of which you are excommunicated." Bradford replied, " I am not excommunicated out of Christ's church, my lord. Although they which seem to be in the church, and of the church, have excommunicated me, as the poor blind man was, (John ix.) I am sure Christ receiveth me." Then said the archbishop, " You deceive yourself."

Here, after much talk of excommunication, at length Bradford said, " To have communion with the church requires nothing visible in it ; for communion consisteth in faith, and not in exterior ceremonies." And afterwards he proved from the words of St. Paul, That the church is not often glorious in this world, but poor and persecuted. And he alleged farther, That the church consisteth not in men, by reason either of secular or temporal power ; but in men endued with true knowledge and confession of faith ; and that it is hid rather in caves and holes, than shines in thrones of pre-eminence. Then came one of the servants, and told them that my lord of Durham waited for them at Dr. Heath's house. So, after three hours talk with Mr. Bradford, they said they lamented his case, and willed him to read over a book which did Dr. Crome good ; wishing him good in words, they went their way, and Bradford to his prison.

Upon the 25th of February, about eight o'clock in the morning, two Spanish friars came to Mr. Bradford. Then one of them, which was the king's confessor, asked Bradford, whether he had not seen or heard of one Alphonsus, who had written against heresies ? Upon Bradford's saying, " I do not know him ;" the confessor said, " Well, this man (pointing to Alphonsus) is he. We are come to you in love and charity, by the means of

the earl of Derby. Then said Alphonsus, "It is requisite that you should pray unto God, that you might follow the direction of God's Spirit, that he would inspire you, so that you be not addicted to your own self-will or wit." Whereupon Bradford made a prayer, and besought God to direct all their wills, words, and works, as the wills, words and works of his children for ever. Then said Alphonsus, "You must be as it were a neuter, and not wedded to yourself, but as one standing in doubt: pray and be ready to receive what God shall inspire; for in vain labourereth our tongue to speak else." "Sir, (said Bradford) my sentence, if you mean it for religion, must not be in doubt or uncertain; as I thank God I am certain in that for which I am condemned: I have no cause to doubt of it, but rather to be more certain of it; and therefore I pray God to confirm me more in it. For it is his truth; and because it is so certain and true that it can abide the light, I dare be bold to have it looked on, and confer it with you or any man." Alphonsus then asked him, "Do you not believe that Christ is present really and corporally in the form of bread?" Mr. Bradford replied, "No. I do believe that Christ is present to the faith of the worthy receiver, as there is present bread and wine to the senses and outward man. As for any such presence of including and placing Christ, I believe not, nor dare believe." "Why, (Alphonsus again asked him) doth he not say plainly, *This is my body*?" "Yes, (says Bradford) and I deny not but that it is so, to the faith of the worthy receiver." Alphonsus replied, "To the faith! how is that?" Then answered Bradford, "Forsooth, sir, as I have no tongue to express it, so I know you have no ears to understand it. For faith is more than man can utter." Alphonsus said, "But I can tell all that I believe." "You believe not much then," said Bradford. "For if you believe the joys of heaven, and believe no more thereof than you can tell, you will not yet desire to come thither. For as the mind is more capable than the mouth, so it conceiveth more than tongue can express." Besides

these, he had several other conferences with divers adversaries, from the time of his condemnation, (which was Jan. 31,) to the day of execution. In all which he steadfastly maintained the truth of the gospel against the corruptions and superstitions of the Romish church.

During the time of his confinement in the Compter in the Poultry, he preached twice a day continually ; where also the sacrament was often administered, and through his means, (the keepers so well bore with him,) such resort of good folks was daily to his lecture, and to the administration of the sacrament ; that his chamber was commonly well nigh filled. Preaching, reading, and praying was his whole life. He did not eat above one meal in a day, which was but very little when he took it : and his continual study was upon his knees. In the midst of dinner, he used to muse within himself, having his hat over his eyes ; from whence commonly came plenty of tears. He was very gentle to man and child, and in so good credit with his keeper, that at his desire in an evening, (being prisoner in the King's-bench, in Southwark,) he had licence, upon his promise to return again that night, to go into London, (without any keeper,) to visit one that was sick. Neither did he fail to keep his promise, but returned to his prison again ; rather preventing his hour, than breaking his fidelity

He was somewhat tall and slender, spare of body, of a faint sanguine colour, with an auburn beard. He slept commonly not above four hours in the night ; and in bed, till sleep came, his book was always in his hand. His chief recreation was not in gaming, nor in any other pastime, but with godly talk, and in honest company ; with whom he would spend a little time after dinner, and so apply to prayer and his book again. He counted that hour not well spent, wherein he did not some good, either with his pen, study, or in exhorting of others. He was no niggard of his purse, but would liberally share what he had to his fellow-prisoners. And commonly once a week he visited the felons, and such other prisoners

as were on the other side, unto whom he gave a godly exhortation, to amend their lives by their trouble; and after that he distributed among them some small portion of money.

While he was in the King's-bench, and Mr. Saunders in the Marshalsea, both prisoners, on the back-side of those two prisons they met many times, and conferred together when they would: so mercifully did the Lord work for them. And Mr. Bradford was so trusted by his keeper, that there was no day, but he might have escaped; but the Lord had another work for him. In the summer-time, while he was in the King's-bench, he had liberty of his keeper to ride into Oxfordshire, to a merchant's house of his acquaintance, and his horse and all things were provided for him for the journey; but God prevented him by sickness.

One of his old acquaintance came to him, whilst he was a prisoner, and asked him, if he sued to get him out, what he would do? or whither he would go? Unto whom he made answer, he cared not, whether he went out or not; but if he did, he would marry, and abide still in England secretly, and teach the people, as the time would suffer him. He was had in so great reverence with all good men, that a multitude, who never knew him but by fame, greatly lamented his death; yea, and a number of the papists themselves wished heartily his life. There were few days in which he did not spend some tears before he went to bed; neither was there ever any prisoner with him, but by his company he greatly profited.

The night before he was taken to Newgate, he was sore troubled by dreams, how the chain for his burning was brought to the Compter-gate, and how the next day, being Sunday, he should be had to Newgate, and on the Monday after burned in Smithfield. Now he being vexed so oftentimes in this sort, about three o'clock in the morning he awoke him that lay with him, and told his unquiet sleep, and what he was troubled with. Then

after a little talk, Mr. Bradford rose, and gave himself to his old exercise of reading and praying : at dinner, according to his custom, he eat his meat, and was very cheerful, no body being with him from morning till night, but he that lay with him, with whom he had many times on that day spoken of death, of the kingdom of heaven, and of the ripeness of sin in that time.

In the afternoon, as they two walked together in the keeper's chamber, suddenly the keeper's wife came up, as one half amazed, and seeming much troubled, said, " Oh ! Mr. Bradford, I come to bring you heavy news." " What is that ?" said he. " Marry, (quoth she,) tomorrow you must be burnt ; your chain is buying ; and you must soon go to Newgate." With that, Mr. Bradford put off his cap, and lifting up his eyes to heaven, said, " I thank God for it : I have looked for the same a long time, and therefore it cometh not now suddenly, but as a thing waited for every day and hour. The Lord make me worthy thereof : " and so thanking her for her gentleness, departed into his chamber, and called his friend with him. He went secretly alone a long time, and prayed : which being done, he came again to him that was in his chamber, and gave him divers writings and papers, and shewed him what he would have done ; and after they had spent the afternoon in sundry such things, at last came to him half a dozen of his friends more, with whom he spent the evening in prayer and other good exercises, so wonderfully, that it was marvellous to hear and see what was said and done.

A little before he went out of the Compter, he made a farewell prayer, with such plenty of tears, and abundant spirit of prayer, that it ravished the minds of the hearers. Also when he shifted himself with a clean shirt that was made for his burning, (by one Mr. Walter Marar's wife, who was a good nurse unto him, and his very good friend,) he made such a prayer concerning the wedding-garment, that those that were present were in great admiration. At his departure out of the chamber, he made

likewise a prayer, and gave money to every servant and officer of the house, with exhortation to them to fear and serve God, continually labouring to eschew all manner of evil. That done, he turned him to the wall, and prayed vehemently, that his words might not be spoken in vain, but that the Lord would work in them effectually, for his Christ's sake. Being beneath in the court, all the prisoners cried out, and bid him farewell, as the rest of the house had done before, with tears.

About 11 or 12 o'clock at night he was conveyed to Newgate, when it was thought none would be stirring. And yet, contrary to their expectation, there was in Cheapside, and other places, (between the Compter and Newgate) a great multitude of people that came to see him, which most gently bade him farewell, praying for him with most lamentable tears; and he again as gently bade them farewell, praying most heartily for them and their welfare. There was a great noise over-night about the city, that he should be burned the next day, by four in the morning. The next day, at the said hour, there was such a multitude of men and women in Smithfield, that many wondered at it.

It was nine o'clock before Mr. Bradford was brought into Smithfield; who, in going through Newgate, espied a friend of his whom he loved, standing on one side the way, to whom he reached his hand over the people, and plucked him to him, and delivered to him his velvet cap from off his head, with his handkerchief, and other things besides. And after a little secret talk with him, each of them parting from the other, immediately came to him a brother-in-law of his, called Roger Beswick. As soon as he had taken Mr. Bradford by the hand, one of the sheriffs, called Woodroffe, came with his staff, and brake Beswick's head, so that the blood ran about his shoulders. Which sight, Bradford beholding with grief, bade his brother farewell, willing him to commend him to his mother, and to the rest of his friends, and desired him to go soon to some surgeon. Then he was led to Smithfield, with so

great a company of armed men, as the like was not seen before at any man's burning: for in every corner of Smithfield there were some, besides those that stood about the stake. Bradford being come to the place, fell flat on the ground, secretly making his prayers to Almighty God. Then rising again, and putting off his clothes unto his shirt, he went to the stake, and there suffered with a young man, of twenty years of age, whose name was John Leaf.

John Leaf was an apprentice to a tallow-chandler, of the parish of Christ-church, in London, born at Kirkby-Moorside; who, on the Friday before Palm-sunday, was committed to the Compter in Bread-street. Afterwards, upon his examination before Bonner, he gave a firm and Christian testimony of his profession. Touching his belief in the sacrament of the altar, he answered, That after the words of consecration, spoken by the priest, there was not the very true and natural body and blood of Christ in substance. And further, did hold and believe, That the said sacrament of the altar, so called, as it is now used in England, is idolatrous and abominable; and also affirmed, That he believed auricular confession not to be necessary to be made unto a priest; because it was not necessary to soul-health, neither had the priest any authority given him by the Scripture, to absolve and remit any sin. Being dismissed at that time, he was ordered the Monday next, being the 10th of June, to appear again in the said place, to hear the sentence of his condemnation. Then the bishop, after many words, asked him, If he had been Mr. Rogers's scholar? Leaf answered, He had, and that he did believe in the doctrine of the said Rogers, of bishop Hooper, Cardmaker, and others of their opinion, which were lately burned for the testimony of Christ, and that he would die in that belief. After other replications of the bishop, moving him to return to the unity of the church, he with great courage of spirit, answered, "My lord, you call mine opinion heresy; it is the true light of the Word of God." Where-

upon the bishop proceeded to read the sentence of condemnation against him.

When John Leaf and Mr. Bradford came to the stake in Smithfield, Bradford on one side of the stake, and John Leaf on the other, lay flat on their faces, praying by themselves the space of a minute. Then one of the sheriffs said to Mr. Bradford, "Arise, and make an end; for the press of the people is great." At that word they both stood upon their feet, and then Mr. Bradford took a faggot in his hand, and kissed it, and likewise the stake. When he had so done, he desired of the sheriffs, that his servant might have his raiment. "For, (said he,) I have nothing else to give him; and besides he is a poor man." The sheriff said he should have it. And forthwith Mr. Bradford put off his raiment, and went to the stake; and holding up his hands, and casting his countenance to heaven, he said thus, "O England, England, repent thee of thy sins, repent thee of thy sins. Beware of antichrists; take heed they do not deceive you." And as he was speaking these words, the sheriff ordered his hands to be tied, if he would not be quiet. "O Mr. Sheriff, (said Bradford,) I am quiet: God forgive you this, Mr. Sheriff." One of the officers hearing Mr. Bradford speak thus to the sheriff, said, "If you have no better learning than that, you are but a fool, and had best hold your peace." To which Mr. Bradford gave no answer; but asked all the world forgiveness, and forgave all the world, desiring the people to pray for him. Then turning his head to the young man that suffered with him, he said, "Be of good comfort, brother, for we shall have a merry supper with the Lord this night." He spake no more words that any man heard, only embracing the reeds, he said thus, "Strait is the way, and narrow is the gate that leadeth to eternal life, and few there be that find it." Then they both, like patient lambs, ended their lives in the flames.

THE MARTYRDOM
OF
MR. ROBERT GLOVER.

MR. ROBERT GLOVER, gentleman, lived in the town of Mancetor, in the days of queen Mary. As soon as the bishop of Coventry heard of the fame of his brother, Mr. John Glover, he wrote to the mayor and officers of Coventry, to apprehend him as soon as might be. As soon as the mayor had received the bishop's letters, he forthwith sent a privy watch-word for him to convey himself away; who, with his brother William, was scarce departed out of his house, when the searchers rushed in to take him. But when John could not be found, one of the officers going into an upper chamber, found Robert lying on his bed, and sick of a long disease; who was brought by him before the sheriff. The sheriff, notwithstanding, favouring Robert and his cause, would fain have dismissed him, saying, that was not the man for whom they were sent; yet, being afraid of the officer, contending to have him stayed till the bishop's coming, he was constrained to carry him away. The whole narration of the same he wrote to his wife.

“ To my entirely beloved wife, Mary Glover.

“ The peace of conscience, which passeth all understanding, the sweet consolation, strength, and boldness

of the Holy Ghost, be continually increased in our hearts, through a fervent, earnest, and steadfast faith in our most dear and only Saviour, Jesus Christ. Amen ! I thank you heartily, for your letters sent unto me in my imprisonment. I read them with tears, more than once or twice ; with tears, I say, for joy and gladness, that God had wrought in you so merciful a work. First, an unfeigned repentance : secondly, an humble and hearty reconciliation ; and thirdly, a willing submission and obedience to the will of God in all things. Which when I read in your letters, and judged them to proceed from the bottom of your heart ; I could not but be thankful to God, rejoicing with tears for you, and these his great mercies poured out upon you. These your letters have much relieved and comforted me at all times, and shall be a good testimony with you at the great day, against many who set more by their own pleasure, than by God's glory ; little regarding, (as it appeareth,) the everlasting health of their own souls, or the souls of others. My prayer shall be, whilst I am in this world, that God, who of his great mercy hath begun his good work in you, would finish it to the glory of his name, and by the mighty power and inspiration of his Holy Spirit, so strengthen, establish, and confirm you in all his ways to the end, that we may together shew forth his praises in the world to come, to our consolation everlastingly. Amen !

“ So long as God shall lend you continuance in this miserable world, above all things give yourself continually to prayer ; lifting up, as St. Paul saith, clean hands without wrath or doubting ; forgiving, if you have any thing against any man, even as Christ forgiveth us. And that we may be the better willing to forgive, it is good often to call to remembrance the multitude and greatness of our sins, which Christ daily and hourly forgiveth us ; and then we shall be ready to cover the offences of our brethren, be they never so many. And because God's Word teacheth us, not only the true manner of praying, but also what we ought to do, or not to do, in the whole

practice of this life ; and that, as Christ saith, ‘ The Word of God that he hath spoken shall judge us in the last day ;’ let your prayer be to this end especially, that God, of his great mercy, would open and reveal more and more daily to your heart the true sense, knowledge, and understanding of his most holy Word, and give you grace in your living, to express the fruits thereof.

“ And forasmuch as it is, as the Holy Ghost calleth it, the word of affliction ; that is, it is seldom without hatred, persecution, danger of life or goods, and whatsoever seemeth pleasant in this world ; call upon God continually for his assistance, as Christ teacheth, casting your accounts, what it is like to cost you, endeavouring yourself, through the help of the Holy Ghost, by continuance of prayer, to lay your foundation so sure, that no storm or tempest may be able to overthrow, or cast it down ; remembering always (as Christ saith) Lot’s wife ; that is, not looking back. And because nothing displeaseth God so much as idolatry, that is, false worshipping of God, otherwise than his Word commandeth : look not back to their idolatrous and blasphemous massing, manifestly against the word and example of Christ ; as is most manifest to all that have any true understanding of God’s word. Have no fellowship with them therefore, my dear wife, nor with their doctrine and traditions, lest you be partaker of their sins, for whom is reserved a heavy damnation, without speedy repentance. Beware of such as shall advertise you, something to bear with the world as they do, for a season. There is no dallying with God’s matters : ‘ It is a fearful thing (as St. Paul saith) to fall into the hands of God.’ Remember the prophet Elijah : ‘ Why halt ye between two opinions ?’ Remember what Christ saith, ‘ He that putteth his hand to the plough, and looketh back, is not worthy of me.’ And seeing God hath hitherto allowed you as a good soldier, play not the coward, neither draw back. St. John numbereth among them that shall dwell in the fiery lake, such as be fearful in God’s cause. Set before your eyes always the examples

of such as have behaved themselves boldly in God's cause, as Stephen, Peter, Paul, Daniel, the three children, the widow's sons ; and in your days, Anne Askew, Laurence Sanders, John Bradford, with many other faithful witnesses of Christ. "Be afraid in nothing (saith St. Paul,) of the adversaries of Christ's doctrine, the which is to them the sign of perdition, but to you of everlasting salvation. Christ commandeth the same, saying, "Fear them not." Let us not follow the example of him which asked first to take leave of his friends. If we do so, we shall find few of them that will encourage us to go forward in our business. We read not that James and John, Andrew and Simon, when they were called, put off the time till they had known their fathers' and friends' pleasures. But the Scripture saith, "They forsook all and followed Christ." Christ likened the kingdom of God to a precious pearl, which whosoever findeth, selleth all that he hath to buy it. Yea, whosoever hath but a little taste how precious a treasure the kingdom of heaven is, will gladly forego both life and goods for the obtaining of it.

"If I would have given place to worldly reasons, these might have moved me : first, the foregoing of you and my children ; the consideration of the state of my children, being yet tender of age, inclinable to virtue and learning, and so having the more need of my assistance, being not altogether destitute of gifts to help them with ; possessions above the common sort of men ; because I was never called to be a preacher or minister ; and (because of my sickness) fear of death in imprisonment before I should come to my answer, and so my death to be unprofitable. But these and such like considerations, I thank my heavenly Father, (who of his infinite mercy inspired me with his Holy Ghost, for his Son's sake, my only Saviour and Redeemer) prevailed not in me ; but when I had, by the wonderful permission of God, fallen into their hands, at the first sight of the sheriff, nature was a little abashed ; yet ere ever I came to the prison, by the working of God, and through his goodness, fear

departed. I said to the sheriff, at his coming unto me, "What have you, Mr. Sheriff, to charge me withall?" He answered, "You shall know when you come before the masters." And so taking me with him, I looked to have been brought before the masters, and to have heard what they could have burdened me with: but contrary to my expectation, I was committed to the gaol, little justice being shewed therein. But the less justice a man findeth at their hands, the more consolation in conscience shall he find from God; for whosoever is of the world, the world will love him.

"After I came into prison, and had reposed myself there a while, I wept for joy, musing much on the great mercies of God, and, as it were, saying to myself after this sort, 'O Lord, who am I, on whom thou shouldst bestow this thy great mercy, to be numbered among the saints that suffer for the gospel's sake?' And so beholding and considering on the one side my imperfection, sinfulness, and unworthiness, and on the other side the greatness of God's mercy, to be called to so high promotion, I was, as it were, amazed and overcome for a while with joy and gladness, concluding thus with myself in my heart, 'O Lord, thou shewest power in weakness, wisdom in foolishness, mercy in sinfulness; who shall hinder thee from choosing where and whom thou wilt? As I have zealously loved the confession of thy word, so I ever thought myself to be most unworthy to be a partaker of affliction for the same.' Not long after came to me Mr. W. Brasbridge, Mr. C. Phineas, and Mr. N. Hopkins, persuading me to be dismissed upon bonds. To whom my answer was, Forasmuch as the masters have imprisoned me, having nothing to charge me with, if I should enter into bonds, I should accuse myself; and seeing they have no matter to lay to my charge, they may as well let me pass without bonds as with them. Secondly, if I shall enter into bonds, and promise to appear, I shall do nothing but excuse and cloak their wickedness, and endanger myself nevertheless, being bound by my promise to appear.

When they were somewhat importunate, I took, as it were, a pause, lifting up my heart to God earnestly for his aid, that I might do the thing that might please him. And so when they had let their suit fall, my heart was wonderfully comforted. Mr. Dudley communed with me in like manner; whom I answered in effect as I did before.

“Afterward, debating the matter with myself, these considerations came into my head: I have from time to time with a good conscience, (God I take to record,) moved all such as I had conference with, to be no dalliers in God’s matters, but to shew themselves, after so great light and knowledge, hearty and stable in so manifest a truth. Now thought I, if I should withdraw myself, and pull my neck out of the collar, I should give great offence to my weak brethren in Christ. It will be said, He hath been a great encourager of others to fear no dangers, but he himself will give no such example. Wherefore I thought it my bounden duty, both to God and man, being, by the great goodness of God, called hereunto, to set aside all fear, all worldly respects; and as I had heretofore, according to the measure of my small gift, unfeignedly exhorted and persuaded all that profess God’s word, manfully to persist in the defence of the same, not with sword and violence, but with suffering and loss of life, rather than to defile themselves again with the abominations of the Romish antichrist; so the hour being come, with my example to confirm the same to the hearts of all true believers. To this end, by the mighty assistance of God’s Holy Spirit, I resolved, with much peace of conscience, to sustain whatsoever antichrist should do against me, and the rather because I understood the bishop’s coming to be at hand, and considered that poor men’s consciences would be then sharply assaulted. So I remained prisoner ten or eleven days, being never called to my answer, contrary to the laws of the realm, they having neither law, proclamation, warrant, nor commandment for my apprehension. They

would have laid all the matter upon the sumner ; who being examined, denied it before their faces, saying, that he had no commandment concerning me, but for my elder brother.

The second day after the bishop's coming to Coventry, Mr. Warren willed the jailor to carry me before the bishop. I laid to Mr. Warren's charge the seeking of my death ; and when he would have excused himself, I told him he could not wipe his hands so ; he was as guilty of my blood before God, as though he had murdered me with his own hands. God open his eyes, and give him grace to believe this ; that all who persecute the members of Christ for their conscience sake, without speedy repentance, shall dwell with the devil and his angels in the fiery lake everlastingly, where they shall cry and call, but in vain, (as Dives did,) to be refreshed of them, whom in this world they disdained, as slaves and wretches.

When I came before the bishop, he willed me to submit myself. I said to him, I am not come to accuse myself ; what have you to lay to my charge ? He asked me whether I was learned ? I answered, Smally learned. The chancellor standing by, said, I was a master of arts. Then my lord laid to my charge my not coming to the church. Here I might have put him to his proof, forasmuch as I had not been for a long season in his diocese, neither was any of the citizens able to prove any such matter against me. Notwithstanding I answered him, through God's help, that I neither had nor would come to their church, so long as their mass was used there, to save (if I had them,) five hundred lives. I willed him to shew me one tittle in the Scriptures for the proof and defence of the mass. He answered, He came to teach, and not to be taught. I told him I was content to learn of him, so far as he was able to teach me by the word of God. I offered him further, That I was content the primitive church, next to the apostles' time, should

judge between him and me. But he refused also to be judged by that. Then he said, he was my bishop, and therefore I must believe him. But I said, 'If you say black is white, my lord, must I also say as you say, and believe the same because you say it is so?'

The chancellor here noted me to be arrogant, because I would not give place to my bishop. But I said, 'If you will be believed because you are a bishop, why find you fault with the people that believed Mr. Latimer, Mr. Ridley, and Mr. Hooper?' The bishop replied, 'Because they were heretics.' 'And may not you err, (quoth I,) as well as they?' I looked for learning at my lord's hand to persuade me, and he oppressed me only with his authority. He said, I dissented from the church; and asked me, where my church was before King Edward's time? I desired him to shew where their church was in Elijah's time, and what outward shew it had in Christ's time? The bishop said, Elijah's complaint was only of the ten tribes that fell from David's house, whom he called heretics. I answered him, 'You are not able to show any prophets that the other two tribes had at that time.' My lord making no answer to that, Mr. Rogers, one of the masters of the city, coming in the mean season, took upon him as though he would answer to the text. But my lord forthwith commanded me to be committed to some tower, if they had any besides the common goal, saying, he would, at the end of his visitation, weed out such wolves. Mr. Rogers willed him to content himself for that night, till they had taken further order for me. 'Even where it pleaseth you, (said I to my lord,) I am content:' and so I was returned to the common goal.

The next day, I had warning by one of the prisoners to prepare myself to ride with my fellow-prisoners to Litchfield, there to be bestowed at the bishop's pleasure. Which tidings at the first, something discouraged me, fearing, lest I should by the means of my great sickness,

through extreme ill handling, (which I looked for,) have died in the prison before I should come to my answer. But I immediately rebuked this infidelity in myself with God's word, and by the same corrected mine own mistrust after this manner. What make I of God? Is not his power as great in Litchfield as in Coventry? Doth not his promise extend as well to Litchfield as to Coventry? Was he not with Habakkuk, Daniel, Meshech, and Jeremy, in their most dangerous imprisonments? He knoweth what things we have need of. He hath numbered all the hairs of our head. The sparrow falleth not on the ground, without our heavenly Father's will; much more will he care for us if we be not faithless, whom he hath made worthy to be witnesses of his truth. So long as we put our trust in him, we shall never be destitute of his help, neither in prison, nor in sickness, nor in health, neither in life, nor in death, neither before kings, nor before bishops. The devil himself, much less one of his ministers, shall not be able to prevail against us. With such like meditations I waxed of good comfort; so that hearing one say they could not provide horses enough for us, I said, let them carry us in a dung-cart, if they list; I am well content for my part.

Notwithstanding, at the request of my friends, I wrote to Mr Mayor and his brethren, requiring them that I might make answer to such things as should be laid to my charge: the contents of which letter were these: 'I beseech you to understand, that it is not unknown, as well to the keeper of the goal, as to the inhabitants about me where I dwell, that I am a man subject to very great sickness, and have been by the space of seven years and more; so that it is not like that I shall be removed without danger of life. And because I was here committed to ward by your appointment, I would gladly here answer to such things as should be laid to my charge. If I may obtain this of you, I am thankful; if otherwise, I pray God it be not laid to your charge at the great day,

when every man shall have just judgment without respect of person. Your prisoner in the Lord, always mindful of you in my poor prayer,

‘ROBERT GLOVER.’

But I received no answer to my letter. I conjectured, that when the bishop and the chancellor had seen it, it moved them the rather to have me away, being desirous to have had me privily despatched in prison. The manner of using me at my first coming to prison, did partly declare the same.

Certain constables being appointed to convey us to Litchfield, to be delivered there to one Jephcot, the chancellor’s man, we were commanded to horseback about eleven or twelve o’clock on Friday, being market-day, that we might be the more gazed at. We came to Litchfield about four o’clock at night, and had leave to repose ourselves for our supper-time. We inned at the sign of the Swan, where we were entertained friendly and gently. After supper, Jephcot repaired to us, whom we intreated, that upon sureties, we might rest ourselves that night, being unprovided of any thing to help ourselves withal in the prison at that present. He was content at the first, (as he seemed,) but afterwards, whether it was by persuasion, or rather, (as it seemed to me,) out of policy, he did but put off the time, till he had gathered a multitude to stare upon us, and also that we should provide nothing to rest ourselves withal; he revoked his promise, and so we were taken to prison. I willed Jephcot before, to execute his office with mercy, telling him that they should have judgment without mercy, that shewed no mercy. And this mercy I found at his hand!

He put me into a prison that same night, where I continued till I was condemned, in a place next to the dungeon, narrow, and very cold, with small light, and there allowed me a bundle of straw, instead of my bed, without chair, form, or any thing else to ease myself withal. God of his mercy gave me patience through prayer that

night, so that if it had been his pleasure, I could have been contented to have ended my life: but Jephcot, and one Percy, the bishop's man, which afterwards was my continual keeper, came to me in the morning, to whom I said, This is a great extremity, God send us patience. Then they were content that I should have a bed of mine own procurement. But I was allowed no help, neither day nor night, nor company of man, notwithstanding my great sickness,; nor pen, ink, paper, or books, saving my New Testament, in Latin, and a prayer-book, which I privily stole in.

Within two days after, Mr. Chancellor, and one Temsey, a prebendary there, came to me into prison. The chancellor exhorted me to conform to the church. I answered, That I refused not to be ruled by that church, that was content to be ordered and governed by the word of God. He asked me how I knew the word of God, but by the church. I answered, 'The church sheweth which is the word of God, therefore the church is above the word of God: this is not good reasoning; for it is like unto this: John shewed the people who was Christ, therefore John was above Christ.' The chancellor said, He came not to reason with me, and so departed. So I remained without any further conference of any man, eight days, till the bishop's coming. In which time I gave myself continually to prayer, and meditation of the merciful promises of God, made unto all, without exception of person, that call upon the name of his dear Son, Jesus Christ. I found in myself daily amendment of health and body, increase of peace in conscience, and many consolations from God, by the help of his Holy Spirit, and sometimes a taste and glimmering of the life to come: all for his only Son, Jesus Christ's sake: to him be all praise for ever and ever.

The enemy ceased not many times to assault me, often objecting mine unworthiness, to be counted among the number of them that should suffer for Christ's sake. Against him I replied with the word of God on this sort,

What were all those whom God had chosen from the beginning, to be his witnesses? Were they not men subject to sin and imperfections, as other men be! As Paul saith, 'Who gave first unto him?' And also speaking to every man, 'What hadst thou, that thou receivedst not?' Likewise John, 'All have received of his fullness;' they were no bringers to God, but all receivers. They loved not God first, but he loved them. Yea, he both loved and chose them when they were his enemies, full of sin and corruption, and void of all goodness. He is and will be still the same God, as rich in mercy as mighty, as willing to forgive sins without respect of persons, to the world's end, of all them that call upon him. God is near, he is at hand, he is with all; with all (I say,) and refuseth none, excepteth none, that faithfully in true repentance call upon him, in what hour, what place, or what time soever it be. It is no arrogancy or presumption in any man, to burden God, (as it were,) with his promise, and challenge his help in all our dangers and distress; calling upon him, not in the confidence of our own godliness, but in the trust of his promises made in Christ; in whom, and by whom, and for whose sake, whosoever boldly approacheth to the mercy-seat of the Father, is sure to receive whatsoever is expedient or necessary, either for body or soul, in more ample wise, and large manner, than he can well wish, or dare desire. His word cannot lie, 'Call upon me in the day of trouble, and I will hear thee, and thou shalt praise me.' I answered the enemy also on this manner: I am a sinner, and therefore unworthy to be a witness of this truth. What then? Must I deny his word, because I am not worthy to possess it? What bring I to pass in so doing, but add sin to sin? What is greater sin than to deny the truth of Christ's gospel? as Christ himself beareth witness, 'He that is ashamed of me, or of my words, of him I will be also ashamed before my Father, and all his angels.' I might also by like reason forbear to do any of God's commandments.

When I am excited to pray, the enemy may say to me, I am not worthy to pray, therefore I shall not pray : and so in like manner of all the commandments. I shall not forbear swearing, stealing, murdering, because I am not worthy to do any commandment of God. These be the delusions of the devil, and satan's suggestions, which must be overcome by continuance of prayer, and with the word of God applied, according to the measure of every man's gift, against all assaults of the devil.

At the bishop's first coming to Litchfield, after mine imprisonment, I was called into a chamber next to my prison, to my lord. Before whom when I came, and saw none but his officers, chaplains, and servants, I was partly amazed, and lifted up my heart to God for his merciful help and assistance. My lord asked me how I liked my imprisonment. I gave no answer touching that question. He proceeded to persuade me to be a member of his church, which had continued so many years. As for our church, (as he called it,) it was not known, (he said,) but in King Edward's time. 'I profess myself to be a member of that church, (said I,) that is builded upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets, Jesus Christ being the head corner-stone; and so alleged the place of St. Paul to the Ephesians. And this church hath been from the beginning, (said I,) though it bear no glorious shew before the world, being for the most part, under the cross and affliction, despised and persecuted.' My lord, on the other side, contended that they were the true church. I said, So - cried all the clergy against the prophets of Jerusalem, saying, 'The temple of the Lord are we.' But always, when I was about to speak any thing, my lord cried, "Hold thy peace; I command thee to hold thy peace, thou proud, arrogant heretic."

I willed my lord to come to particulars. Then he began to ask certain questions. I refused to answer him in corners, requiring that I might make my answer openly. He said, I should answer him there. I stood with him upon that point, until he said, I should go to

prison again, and there have neither meat nor drink till I answered him. Then I lifted up my heart to God, that I might stand to the doctrine of his most holy word. The first question was this : How many sacraments Christ instituted in the church ? ‘The sacrament of baptism, (said I,) and the sacrament that he instituted at his last supper.’ ‘No more ?’ said he. I replied, ‘To all those that declare a true and unfeigned repentance, trust and confidence in the death of Christ, to such, ministers (I grant,) have authority to pronounce, by the power of God’s word, the remission of sins.’ He asked me further, Whether I allowed of their confession ? I answered, ‘No.’ Then he would know what I thought of the presence of Christ’s body in the sacrament. I answered, ‘That their mass was neither sacrifice nor sacrament ; because, (said I,) you have taken away the true institution ; which, when you restore again, I will tell you my judgment concerning Christ’s body in the sacrament.’

Thus much did this worthy martyr leave behind him in writing. More examinations he had, (no doubt,) with the bishop in the publick consistory, when he was brought forth to be condemned, which also he would have left unto us, if time had permitted him to finish that he intended ; but, by reason of the writ for his burning being come down from London, time did not serve him so to do. Only this I could learn of one Austen Bernher, a minister, and a familiar friend of his, after he was condemned, and was now to be delivered out of this world : two or three days before, his heart being destitute of all spiritual consolation, he felt in himself no willingness, but rather a heaviness and dulness of spirit, full of much discomfort to bear the bitter cross of martyrdom. Whereupon fearing himself lest the Lord had utterly withdrawn his wonted favour from him, he made his moan to this Austen, signifying how earnestly he had prayed day and night unto the Lord, and yet could receive no motion nor sense of any comfort from him. Unto whom Austen,

answering again, desired him patiently to wait the Lord's pleasure, and howsoever his present feeling was, yet seeing his cause was just and true, he exhorted him constantly to stick to the same, nothing misdoubting that the Lord in his good time would visit him, and satisfy his desire with consolation, whereof (he said,) he was right certain, and therefore desired him when such a feeling of God's mercies should begin to touch his heart, that he should shew some signification thereof, whereby he might witness the same. The next day, when the time came of his martyrdom, as he was going to the place, and was now come to the sight of the stake, although all the night before praying for strength and courage, he could feel none, suddenly he was so mightily replenished with God's comfort, that he cried out, clapping his hands, "Austen, he is come! he is come!" and that with such joy and alacrity, as one seeming rather to be risen from death to life, than as one passing out of the world. Thus ended he his life in the flame, in full triumph of faith.

THE HISTORY

OF

DR. NICHOLAS RIDLEY.



NICHOLAS RIDLEY was born at Tindale, in Northumberland. He learned grammar in Newcastle, and was removed from thence to the University of Cambridge, where he in a short time became so famous, that for his

singular abilities, he was called to be head of Pembroke-Hall, and made doctor of divinity. After this, departing from thence he went to Paris; and at his return, was made chaplain to King Henry VIII. and promoted to the bishopric of Rochester; and from thence translated to the see of London, in King Edward's days. In which calling and offices he so laboured, preaching and teaching the true doctrine of Christ, that never was a good child more loved by his dear parents, than he by his flock and diocese. Every holiday and Sunday he preached in some place or other, except he were hindered by weighty affairs; to whose sermons the people resorted, crowding about him, and coveting the wholesome doctrine, which he did not only preach, but shewed by his life, in such pure order and chastity, (declining from evil desires,) that his very enemies could not reprove him in any one jot thereof. He was remarkably well learned; his memory great; and he of such reading withal, that of right he deserved to be compared to the best of this our age. And besides all this, he was wise in counsel, of deep understanding, and very publick in all his doings. How merciful and careful he was to reduce the obstinate papists from their erroncus opinions, and by gentleness to win them to the truth, his gentle ordering and courteous handling of Dr. Heath, (late archbishop of York, being prisoner with him in King Edward's time,) in his house one year, sufficiently declareth. In fine, he was such a prelate, and in all points so good, godly, and spiritual a man, that England might justly lament the loss of so worthy a treasure.

To speak something of his person and conditions. He was a man right comely, and well proportioned in all respects, both in the complexion and lineaments of his body. He took all things in good part, bearing no malice nor rancour in his heart, but straightways forgetting all injuries and offences. He was very kind to his kinsfolk, and yet not bearing with them any thing otherwise than right would require; giving them always for a general

rule, yea, to his own brother and sister, that if they did evil, they should look for nothing at his hand, but should be as strangers to him, and those should be his brother and sister, who acted honestly, and loved a godly life.

He was accustomed always to mortify himself, and was much given to prayer and contemplation. For duly every morning, as soon as his apparel was on, he went to his bed-chamber, and there upon his knees prayed the space of half an hour; after which he immediately went to his study, (if there came no other business to interrupt him,) where he continued till ten o'clock, and then came to the common prayer, used daily in his house. The prayers being done, he went to dinner; where he used little talk, except occasion had been ministered, and then it was sober, discreet, and wise, and sometimes cheerful, as cause required. The dinner done, which was not long, he used to sit talking an hour, or thereabouts: afterwards he returned to his study, and there continued, except business occasioned the contrary, till five o'clock in the evening; then he came to common prayer, as in the forenoon; which being finished, he went to supper, behaving himself there as at his dinner before. After supper he used generally to recreate himself the space of an hour, and would then return to his study; continuing there till eleven at night, which was his common hour to go to bed; then praying upon his knees, as in the morning when he rose. Being at his manor of Fulham, as divers times he used to be, he read daily a lecture to his family at the time of prayer, beginning at the Acts of the Apostles, and so going through all the epistles of St. Paul, giving to every man that could read, a New Testament; hiring them besides with money to learn by heart certain principal chapters, but especially the 13th chapter of the Acts, reading also unto his household oftentimes the 101st Psalm, being marvellously careful over his family, that they might be a spectacle of all virtue and honesty to others. To be short, as he was godly and virtuous himself, so nothing

but virtue and godliness reigned in his house, feeding all with the food of our Saviour, Jesus Christ.

Now remaineth a word or two to be declared of his usage of Mrs. Bonner, mother to Dr. Bonner, some time bishop of London. Bishop Ridley being at Fulham, always sent for Mrs. Bonner, dwelling in a house adjoining, to dinner and supper, with one Mrs. Mungey, Bonner's sister, saying, "Go for my mother Bonner," who coming, was ever placed in the chair at the table's end, being as kindly treated, as though he had been born of her body; never displaced of her seat, although the king's council had been present, saying, when any of them were there, "By your lordship's favour, this place of right is for my mother Bonner."

The first occasion of his conversion was by reading of Bertram's book of the sacrament, which also conference with bishop Cranmer, and with Peter Martyr, did not a little confirm. Being thoroughly brought to the true way, as he was before zealous in his old ignorance, so he was now constant and faithful in the right knowledge which the Lord had opened unto him; and did much good, while authority supported the peace of the church, and proceedings of the gospel. But after that it pleased God to call King Edward from us, bishop Ridley was soon laid hands on, and committed to the Tower.

About the 10th of April 1554, he, and likewise archbishop Cranmer and bishop Latimer, were all conveyed as prisoners from the Tower, to the common gaol in Oxford, called Bocardo, there to dispute with the divines and learned men of both the universities, upon these questions :

1. Whether the natural body of Christ be really in the sacrament, after the words spoken by the priest, or not ?
2. Whether any other substance remain in the sacra-

ment, after the words of consecration, than that of the body and blood of Christ?

3. Whether in the mass be a sacrifice propitiatory for the sins of the quick and the dead?

The names of the doctors and graduates, appointed to dispute against them, were these: of Oxford, Dr. Weston, prolocutor, Dr. Tresham, Dr. Cole, Dr. Oglethorpe, Dr. Pie, Mr. Harpsfield, and Mr. Fecknam. Of Cambridge, Dr. Young, vice-chancellor, Dr. Glin, Dr. Seaton, Dr. Watson, Dr. Sedgewick, Dr. Atkinson, and several others.

On April 13, the three prisoners were separated, Dr. Ridley to alderman Irish's house; Mr. Latimer to another; and Dr. Cranmer remained still in Bocardo.

On Saturday, the 14th, at eight o'clock, the vice-chancellor of Cambridge, with the other doctors of the same university, repaired to Lincoln College, and found Dr. Weston, the prolocutor above in the chapel, with a company of the house, singing mass, and tarried there till the end. Then they, consulting all together in the masters' lodging, about nine came to the University church, called St. Mary's; and there, after a short consultation, the vice-chancellor of Oxford caused the vice-chancellor of Cambridge, and the rest of the doctors of that university, to send for their scarlet robes. And in this time, the regents in the congregation-house had granted all the Cambridge doctors their graces, to be incorporate there; and so they went up, and were admitted immediately, Dr. Oglethorpe presenting them, and the proctor reading the statute, and giving them their oaths. That done, they came all into the quire, and there held the convocation of the university. They had mass solemnly sung by the quiremen of Christ church. But first the cause of the convocation was opened by the vice-chancellor, and the prolocutor. Mass being done, they went in procession to Christ church, and there the quiremen sung a Psalm, and after that a collect was read. Then the commissioners, doctors, and many others,

departed to Lincoln College, where they dined with the mayor of the town. After dinner they all went again to St. Mary's church; and there, after a short consultation, all the commissioners came into the quire, and sat on seats before the altar, to the number of 33 persons: and first they sent to the mayor, that he should bring in the prisoners; who, within a small while were brought to them, guarded by a great number of bill-men.

After archbishop Cranmer had been examined upon the articles above-mentioned; bishop Ridley was examined upon the same, and answered without delay, they were all false; and said further, that they sprang out of a bitter and sour root. After that, he was asked, Whether he desired not my lord chancellor, that now is, to stick to the mass? He said, My lord would say no such thing; for if he did, he reported not the truth. Then he was asked, Whether he would dispute or not? He answered, That as long as God gave him life, he should not only have his heart, but also his mouth and pen to defend the truth; but he required time and books. They said, He should dispute on Tuesday, and till that time he should have books. He said, It was not reason that he might not have his own books, and time also to prepare for his disputations. Then they gave him the articles, and bade him write his mind on them that night, and so they commanded the mayor to have him to alderman Irish's, from whence he came.

April 17, he was brought forth to dispute with Dr. Smith, Dr. Weston, and the other doctors and learned men before-mentioned. He made a preface to the questions, but they would not let him go forward in it; but said it was blasphemy. Dr. Smith could get nothing at his hand; insomuch that others took his arguments and prosecuted them. He shewed himself to be learned, and a great clerk. They could bring nothing, but he knew it as well as they. After some hours, Dr. Weston, dissolving the disputations, spake these words, "*Videtis præfractum hominis animum, gloriosum, vafrum, incon-*

stantem: videtis hodie veritatis vires inconcussas. Itaque clamate, Vicit veritas." That is, "You see the stubborn, boasting, crafty, inconstant mind of this man. You see this day, that the strength of the truth is without foil. Therefore I beseech you all cry out, Truth hath the victory." Which they accordingly did.

The last day of September, 1555, Nicholas Ridley and Hugh Latimer, were again cited to appear before the lords commissioners, in the Divinity School at Oxford, at eight o'clock. At which time thither repaired the lords, placing themselves in the high seat, made for publick lectures and disputations, according to the usage of that school, being then fair set, and trimmed with cloth of tissue, and cushions of velvet: and after the said lords were placed and set, the said Latimer and Ridley were sent for; and first appeared Dr. Ridley, and anon Mr. Latimer. But because it seemed good severally to examine them, Mr. Latimer was kept back till Dr. Ridley was thoroughly examined. Therefore, soon after the coming of Dr. Ridley into the school, the commission was published by an appointed notary, and openly read. Dr. Ridley standing bare-headed, humbly expecting the cause of that his appearance, as often as he heard the cardinal and the pope named, put on his cap. Wherefore after the commission was published, in form and sense above specified, the bishop of Lincoln spoke to this effect:

"Mr. Ridley, although neither I, nor my lords here, in respect of our own persons, look for cap or knee, yet because we represent such persons as we do, that is, my lord cardinal's grace, legate *à latere* to the pope's holiness, as well in that he is of a noble parentage, (and therewith Mr. Ridley moved his cap with lowly obeisance,) descending from the regal blood, as in that he is a man worthy to be revered with all humility, for his great knowledge and learning, noble virtues, and godly life, and especially in that he is here in England deputy to the pope's holiness, it should have become you at this name to have uncovered your head. Wherefore, except

you will of your own self take the pains to put your hand to your head, and at the nomination, as well of the said cardinal, as of the pope's holiness, uncover the same, you will cause us to take the pains to cause some man to pluck off your cap from you." To whom Dr. Ridley, making his petition for licence, answered, "As for that you said, my lord, that you of your own persons desire no cap nor knee, but only require the same, in consideration that you represent the cardinal grace's person, I protest that I did put on my cap at the naming of the cardinal's grace, neither for any contumacy that I bear towards your own persons, neither for any derogation of honour toward the lord cardinal's grace. For I know him to be a man worthy of all reverence and honour, in that he came of the regal blood, and in that he is a man endued with manifold graces of learning and virtue, and as touching these virtues and points, I with all humility, (therewith he put off his cap and bowed his knee,) and obeisance that I may, will reverence and honour his grace; but in that he is legate to the bishop of Rome, (and therewith he put on his cap,) whose usurped supremacy I utterly refuse and renounce, I may in no wise give any obeisance or honour to him, lest my so doing might be prejudicial to mine oath, and to the verity of God's word. In taking off my cap, do as it shall please your lordships, and I shall be content."

Then the bishop of Lincoln, after the third admonition, commanded one of the beadles of the university to pluck his cap from his head; and Mr. Ridley bowing his head to the officer, gently permitted him to take away his cap. After this the bishop exhorted Dr. Ridley to recant; adding several reasons, which Dr. Ridley answered. Then were read the articles against him: after which the bishops took counsel together. At last the bishop of Lincoln said, "These are the same articles which you in open disputation defended. What say you to the first? I pray you answer affirmatively or negatively." Ridley replied, "Why, my lord, I supposed your gentleness had

been such, that you would have given me space until to-morrow, that upon good advertisement I might bring a determinate answer." "Yes, Mr. Ridley, (said the bishop,) I mean not that your answers now shall be prejudicial to your answers to-morrow. I will take your answers at this time, and yet notwithstanding it shall be lawful for you to add, diminish, and change of these answers to-morrow what you will." To this Ridley answered, "At our last disputations I had many things promised, and few performed. It was said, that after the disputations I should have a copy thereof, and licence to change mine answers, as I should think good. It was meet also that I should have seen what was written by the notaries at that time. So your lordship pretended great gentleness in giving me a time; but this gentleness is the same that Christ had of the high-priest. For you, as your lordship saith, have no power to condemn me, neither at any time to put a man to death; so in like sort the high-priests said, that it was not lawful for them to put any man to death, but committed Christ to Pilate, neither would they suffer him to absolve Christ, though he sought all the means that he might." Then spoke Dr. Weston, one of the audience, "What! do you make the king Pilate?" "No, Mr. Doctor, (replied Ridley,) I do but compare your deeds with Caiaphas's deeds and those of the high-priests, which would condemn no man to death, as ye will not, and yet would not suffer Pilate to release Christ."

"Mr. Ridley, (says the bishop,) we mind not but that you shall enjoy the benefit of answering to-morrow, and will take your answers now as *now*; to-morrow you shall change, take out, add, and alter what you will. "In the mean season we require you to answer directly to every article, either affirmatively or negatively." Ridley answered again, "Seeing you appoint me a time to answer to-morrow, and yet will take my answers out of hand; first, I require the notaries to take my protestation, that I in no point acknowledge your authority, as you are

authorized from the pope." The bishop of Lincoln said, "What say you to the first article?" Ridley in return said, "I answer, that in the sacrament of the altar is the very natural body and blood of Christ, indeed and really, i. e. spiritually by grace and efficacy; for so every worthy receiver receiveth the very true body of Christ: but if you mean really and indeed, so that thereby you would include a living and a movable body under the forms of bread and wine, then in that sense is not Christ's body in the sacrament really and indeed."

This answer being taken, the bishop of Lincoln proposed the second question. To whom Ridley answered, "My protestation always reserved, I answer thus; in the sacrament is a certain change, in that that bread, which was before common bread, is now made a lively representation of Christ's body; that even as the mortal body was nourished by that visible bread, so is the internal soul fed with the heavenly food of Christ's body, which the eye of faith seeth, as the bodily eye seeth only bread: but notwithstanding this, the true substance of bread and wine remaineth; with which the body is in like sort nourished, as the soul is by grace and spirit with the body of Christ."

Then the bishop of Lincoln recited the third article. To which Ridley answered, "Christ, as St. Paul writeth, made one perfect sacrifice for the sins of the whole world, neither can any man reiterate that sacrifice of his; and yet is the communion sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving, acceptable to God; but to say, that thereby sins are taken away, (which wholly and perfectly was done by Christ's passion, of which the communion is only a memorial,) that is a derogation from the merits of Christ's passion. For the sacrament was instituted, that we receiving it, and thereby remembering his passion, should be partakers of the merits of the same."

These answers the notaries wrote down. Then the bishop of Lincoln said, "To-morrow, at eight o'clock, you shall appear before us in St. Mary's church, and

then, because we cannot well agree upon your answer to the first article, if you please to write your answer, you shall have pen, ink, and paper, and books, such as you shall require. But if you write any thing besides your answers to these articles, we will not receive it." So charging the mayor with him, he dismissed him.

The next day, (which was the first day of October,) somewhat after eight o'clock, the said lords repaired to St. Mary's church, and after they were set in a high throne, well trimmed with cloth of tissue and silk, then appeared Mr. Ridley, who was set at a table, a good space from the bishop's feet, which table had a silk cloth cast over it, the which place was compassed about with seats, partly for gentlemen which repaired thither, (for this was the session-day also of gaol delivery,) and heads of the university to sit, and partly to keep off the press: for the whole body, as well of the university as of the town, came hither to see the end of the prisoners. Now after Dr. Ridley's appearance, and the silence of the audience, the bishop of Lincoln again required his answer to the three articles; and having received his, Dr. Cranmer's, and Mr. Latimer's answer, pronounced sentence severally upon them, declaring them to be heretics, and no members of the church, and that they should be burned. At which Dr. Ridley said, "Although I be not of your company, yet I doubt not but my name is written in another place, whither this sentence will send us sooner, than we should have come by the course of nature." The assembly was then dismissed, and he was carried to the sheriff's house, where he remained till the day of his execution.

In the mean season, upon the 15th day, in the morning, Dr. Brooks, bishop of Gloucester, Dr. Marshall, vice-chancellor of Oxford, with divers other heads of the university, came to Mr. Irish's house, (then mayor of Oxford,) where Dr. Ridley was close prisoner. When the bishop came into the chamber where Dr. Ridley lay, he told him, That yet once again, the queen offered him her

gracious mercy, if he would receive the same, and come home again to the faith which he was baptized in, and revoke his erroneous doctrine that he of late had taught abroad, to the destruction of many. "My lord, (said Dr. Ridley,) you know my mind fully herein; and as for the doctrine which I have taught, my conscience assureth me that it was sound, and according to God's word, (to his glory be it spoken,) the which doctrine, the Lord God being my helper, I will maintain so long as my tongue shall move, and breath is in my body; and, in confirmation thereof, seal the same with my blood."

The bishop then said, "Seeing you will not receive the queen's mercy now offered to you, we must, against our wills, proceed according to our commission, to degrading, taking from you the dignity of priesthood. For we take you for no bishop, and therefore we will the sooner have done with you; so committing you to the secular power, you know what doth follow." Ridley answered, "Do with me as it shall please God to suffer you; I am well content with all my heart to abide that, and more than that; the servant is not above his master. If they dealt so cruelly with our Saviour Christ, as the Scripture maketh mention, and he suffered the same patiently, how much more doth it become us his servants?" And in saying of these words, they put upon him the surplice, with all the trinkets pertaining to the mass. So they proceeded in their doings, and when they came to the place where Dr. Ridley should hold the chalice and the wafer-cake, (called the singing-bread,) they bid him hold the same in his hands. But Dr. Ridley said, "They shall not come into my hands: for if they do, they shall fall to the ground for all me." Then there was one appointed to hold them in his hand, while bishop Brooks read a certain thing in Latin, touching the degradation of spiritual persons, according to the pope's law. Afterward they put a book in his hand, and withal read a certain thing in Latin, the effect whereof was, "We do take from thee the office of preaching the gospel." At

which words Dr. Ridley gave a great sigh, looking up towards heaven, saying, "O Lord God, forgive them this their wickedness."

Mr. Ridley and Latimer being degraded, and all things finished, Brooks called the bailiffs, delivering to them Dr. Ridley with this charge, to keep him safely from any man speaking with him, and that he should be brought to the place of execution when they were commanded. Then Mr. Ridley burst out with these words, "God! I thank thee, and to thy praise be it spoken. There is none of you all able to lay to my charge any open or notorious crime: for if you could, it would surely be laid in my lap, I see very well." Whereunto Brooks said, He played the part of a proud pharisee, exalting and praising himself.

But Dr. Ridley said, "No, no, no, as I have said before, (to God's glory be it spoken,) I confess myself to be a miserable wretched sinner, and have great need of God's help and mercy, and do daily call and cry for the same; therefore I pray you have no such opinion of me." Then they departed, and in going away a certain warden of a college bid Dr. Ridley repent, and forsake that erroneous opinion. Whereunto Ridley said, "Sir, repent you, for you are out of the truth; and I pray God, (if it be his blessed will,) have mercy upon you, and grant you the understanding of his word." Then the warden being in a chafe, said, "I trust that I shall never be of your devilish opinion, or be in that place whither you shall go." Thus they left him.

Bishop Ridley's Account of the Disputation had against him and his Fellow-prisoners at Oxford, is as follows.

"I NEVER yet saw, nor heard any thing done more vainly, or tumultuously, than the disputation which was with me in the schools at Oxford. Yea, verily, I could never have thought that it had been possible to have found, amongst men of knowledge and learning, any so barefaced and shameless, to behave themselves so dis-

orderly and vainly; more like to stage-players in interludes, than to grave divines, in schools to dispute. The Sorbonical clamours (which at Paris I have seen in times past,) might be worthily thought (in comparison of this Thrasonical ostentation,) to have had much modesty. And no wonder, seeing they who should have been moderators, and should have given good examples, in words and gravity—they themselves gave worst example; and did, as it were, blow the trump to the rest to rave, roar, rage, and cry out. But lest by the innumerable railings and reproachful taunts, wherewith I was baited on every side, our cause—yea, rather God's cause and his church's, —should be evil spoken of, I thought it no less my duty to write mine answers; to the intent, that whosoever is desirous to know the truth, may by this perceive, as well those things which were chiefly objected, as, summarily, that which was answered. Howbeit, it is impossible to set forth all that was tumultuously and confusedly objected on their parts, being so many, speaking many times so thick, that one could not well hear another, or all that was answered on my behalf, to them so sundry and divers opponents. Moreover, a great part of the time appointed for the disputations was consumed in opprobrious checks, and reviling taunts, with hissing and clapping of hands. All which, when I with great grief of heart beheld, protesting openly that such outrageous disorder was unseemly for those schools, and men of learning and gravity; and that they which were the doers of such things did nothing else but betray the slenderness of their cause; I was so far from doing any good by this my humble complaint, that I was forced to hear such rebukes, checks, and taunts for my labour, as no person of any honesty, without blushing, could abide to hear the like spoken by a most vile varlet against a most wretched ruffian.

“At the beginning of the disputation, when I should have confirmed mine answer to the first proposition in few words, and that after the manner and laws of

schools, before I could make an end of my first probation, even the doctors themselves cried out, 'He speaketh blasphemies, he speaketh blasphemies.' And when I on my knees besought them that they would vouchsafe to hear me to the end, (whereat the prolocutor being moved, cried out on high, 'Let him read it, let him read it;') yet when I began to read again, there followed immediately such shouting, such a noise and tumult, as I, to my remembrance, never heard or read the like; except it were that which was stirred up by Demetrius the silver-smith, and others of his occupation, crying out against Paul, 'Great is Diana of the Ephesians!'"

October 15, 1555, the night before Dr. Ridley suffered, his beard and legs were washed; and as he sat at supper the same night, at Mr. Irish's, he bade his hostess, and the rest at the board, to his marriage; "for (saith he,) to-morrow I must be married;" and so shewed himself to be as cheerful as ever he was at any time. And asking his sister to his marriage, he asked his brother, sitting at the table, Whether he thought she could find in her heart to be there, or not? And he answered, Yea, I dare say, with all her heart. At which word he said, He was glad to hear so much. So at that Mrs. Irish, (though a papist,) wept. But Mr. Ridley comforted her, and said, "O, Mrs. Irish, you love me not now, I see well enough; for in that you weep, it doth appear you will not be at my marriage, neither are content therewith. Indeed, you are not so much my friend as I thought you had been. But quiet yourself; though my breakfast shall be somewhat sharp, yet I am sure my supper shall be sweet." When they arose from the table, his brother offered to watch all night with him. But he said, "No, no, that you shall not: for I mind (God willing,) to go to-bed, and sleep as quietly to-night, as ever I did in my life." So his brother departed, exhorting him to be of good cheer, and to take his cross quietly.

The next day, October 16, he and Mr. Latimer were burnt at one stake; and for fear of any tumult that might

arise, the lord Williams was commanded by the queen's letters, with the householders of the city, to be there, sufficiently appointed. And when every thing was in readiness, the prisoners were brought forth by the mayor and the bailiffs. Dr. Ridley had a fair black gown, furred and faced, such as he was wont to wear, being bishop, and a tippet of velvet furred about his neck, a velvet night-cap upon his head, and a corner-cap upon the same, going in a pair of slippers to the stake, and going between the mayor and an alderman. As he passed towards Bocardo, he looked up where Dr. Cranmer lay, hoping to have seen him at the window, and to have spoken unto him; but Dr. Cranmer was busy with friar Soto and his fellows, disputing. When Dr. Ridley entered the place, earnestly holding up both his hands, he looked towards heaven. Then shortly after espying Mr. Latimer, with a wondrous cheerful look, he ran to him, embraced and kissed him, and as they that stood near reported, comforted him, saying, "Be of good heart, brother, for God will either assuage the fury of the flame, or else strengthen us to abide it." With that he went to the stake, kneeled down by it, kissed it, and prayed; and behind him Mr. Latimer kneeled, as earnestly calling upon God as he. After they arose, the one talked with the other a little while, till they who were appointed to see the execution removed themselves out of the sun. Then Dr. Smith, who recanted in king Edward's time, began his sermon to them upon this text of St. Paul, in the 13th chapter of the first Epistle to the Corinthians, "If I give my body to be burnt, and have not charity, it profiteth me nothing." He cried still to the people to beware of them, for they were heretics, and died out of the church: but the old church of Christ and the Catholic faith believed far otherwise. At which place they lifted up both their hands and eyes to heaven, as it were calling God to witness the truth. The which countenance they made in many other places of his sermon, where he spake amiss. He

ended with a very short exhortation to them to recant and save their lives and souls. His sermon, in all, was scarce a quarter of an hour.

The sermon being ended, Dr. Ridley and Mr. Latimer knelt down upon their knees towards my lord Williams of Thame, the vice-chancellor of Oxford, and divers other commissioners appointed for that purpose, which sat upon a form near. Unto whom Mr. Ridley said, "I beseech you, my lord, even for Christ's sake, that I may speak but two or three words." And whilst my lord bent his head to the mayor, to know whether he might give him leave to speak, the baliffs and Dr. Marshall, vice-chancellor, ran hastily to him, and with their hands stopped his mouth, and said, "Mr. Ridley, if you will revoke your erroneous opinions, you shall not only have liberty so to do, but also the benefit of a subject; that is, have your life." "Not otherwise?" said Mr. Ridley. "No, (quoth Dr. Marshall;) therefore if you will not do so, then there is no remedy, but you must suffer for your deserts." "Well, (quoth Mr. Ridley,) so long as the breath is in my body, I will never deny my Lord Christ and his known truth; God's will be done in me." And with that he rose up, and said, with a loud voice, "Well, then I commit our cause to Almighty God, who shall indifferently judge all."

Forthwith they were commanded to make them ready, which they with all meekness obeyed. Dr. Ridley took his gown and tippet, and gave it to his brother-in-law, Mr. Shipside, who, all his time of imprisonment, although he might not be suffered to come to him, lay there at his own charges to provide him necessaries, which from time to time he sent him by the sergeant that kept him. Some other of his apparel, that was little worth, he gave away, other the bailiffs took. He gave away besides, divers other small things to gentlemen standing by, (several of them sadly weeping.) Of those that stood next him, some plucked the points off his hose, and happy was he that could get a rag of him. Then Dr. Ridley, standing

as yet in his waistcoat, said to his brother, "It were best for me to go in my waistcoat still." "No, (quoth his brother,) it will put you to more pain, and it will do a poor man good." Whereunto Dr. Ridley said, "Be it, in the name of God;" and so unlaced himself. Then, being in his shirt, he stood upon the stone, and held up his hand, and said, "O, heavenly Father, I give unto thee most hearty thanks, for that thou hast called me to be a professor of thee, even unto death. I beseech thee, Lord God, take mercy upon this realm of England, and deliver the same from all her enemies."

Then the smith took a chain of iron, and brought the same about Dr. Ridley and Mr. Latimer's middles; and as he was knocking in a staple, Dr. Ridley took the chain in his hand, and shook the same, for it girded in his belly, and looking aside to the smith, said, "Good fellow, knock it in hard, for the flesh will have its course." Then his brother brought him gunpowder in a bag, and would have tied the same about his neck. Dr. Ridley asked, What it was? His brother said, Gunpowder. Then said he, "I take it to be sent of God, and therefore I will receive it as sent of him. And have ye any for my brother?" meaning Mr. Latimer. "Yea, Sir, that I have," quoth his brother. "Then give it him (said he,) betime, lest you come too late." So his brother went and carried of the same gunpowder to Mr. Latimer. In the mean time, Dr. Ridley spake to my lord Williams, and said, "My lord, I must be a suitor unto your lordship, in the behalf of divers poor men, and especially in the case of my poor sister. I have made supplication to the queen's majesty in their behalf. I beseech your lordship, for Christ's sake, to be a suitor to her grace for them. My brother here hath the supplication, and will resort to your lordship, to certify you hereof. There is nothing in all the world that troubleth my mind, (I praise God,) this only excepted. Whilst I was in the see of London, divers poor men took leases of me, and agreed with me for the same. I heard say, the bishop that now


occupieth the same, will not allow my grants made unto them; but, contrary unto all law and conscience, hath taken from them their livings. I beseech you, my lord, be a friend to them; you shall do a good deed, and God will reward you."

Then they brought a faggot kindled, and laid it down at Dr. Ridley's feet. When he saw the fire flaming up towards him, he cried, with a wonderful loud voice, "*In manus tuas, Domine, commendo spiritum meum: Domine, recipe spiritum meum.*" and after, repeated this latter part often in English, "Lord, Lord, receive my spirit." By reason of the ill making of the fire, the faggots being laid about the furze, and built too high, the fire burned first beneath, and was kept down by the wood. Which, when Dr. Ridley felt, he desired them, for Christ's sake, to let the fire come to him: which, when his brother-in-law heard, but not well understood, intending to rid him out of his pain, as one in such sorrow, not well advised what he did, he heaped faggots upon him, so that he clean covered him; which made the fire more vehement beneath, so that it quite burned all his nether parts before it once touched the upper; which made him leap up and down under the faggots, and often desired them to let the fire come unto him, saying, "I cannot burn." Which indeed appeared well; for after his legs were consumed, he shewed that side toward us, shirt and all, quite untouched with flame. Yet in all this torment he forgot not to call unto God still, having in his mouth, "Lord, have mercy upon me;" intermingling his cry, "Let the fire come to me; I cannot burn." In which pains he laboured till one of the standers-by with his bill pulled off the faggots above; and where he saw the fire flame up, he wrested himself to that side. And when the flame touched the gunpowder, he was seen to stir no more, but burned on the other side, falling down at Latimer's feet.

Surely it moved hundreds to tears, in beholding the horrible sight. Signs there were of sorrow on every side.

Some took it grievously to see their deaths, whose lives they held full dear. Some pitied their persons, that thought their souls had no need thereof. His brother moved many men, seeing him compelled to such infelicity, that he thought then to do him best service when he hastend his end. But whoso considered their preferments in time past, the places of honour that they occupied, the favour they were in with their princes, and the learning they had, could not choose but be sorrowful; to see so great dignity, honour, and estimation; so many godly virtues,—the study of so many years,—such excellent learning,—to be put into the fire and consumed, as in one moment. What reward remaineth for them in heaven, the day of the Lord's glory shall declare.

THE MARTYRDOM OF MR. HUGH LATIMER.



MR. HUGH LATIMER was the son of one Hugh Latimer, of Thirkesson, in the county of Leicester, a husbandman of good estimation, with whom he was brought up until he was about four years old. At which time, his parents (having this only son, with six daughters,) seeing his ready and sharp wit, proposed to train him up in literature; wherein he so profited in his youth, at the common schools of his own country, that at the age of

fourteen years he was sent to the University of Cambridge; where, after some continuance of exercises in other things, he gave himself to the study of divinity. He was then zealous in the popish religion, and a servile observer of the Romish decrees. And in this blind zeal he was a great enemy to the professors of Christ's gospel; as both his oration against Philip Melancthon, and his other works, did plainly declare. But especially his zeal could in no wise abide Mr. Stafford, reader of the divinity lectures in Cambridge; most spitefully railing against him, and willing the youth of Cambridge in no wise to believe him.

Mr. Thomas Bilney being at that time a finder out of satan's subtilties, and a secret overthrower of antichrist's kingdom, seeing Latimer to have zeal, (although without knowledge,) was stricken with a brotherly pity towards him, and bethought by what means he might win his zealous, ignorant brother to the true knowledge of Christ. Wherefore, after a short time, he came to Latimer's study, and desired him to hear him make his confession. Which thing he willingly granted; by hearing whereof, he was (through the good Spirit of God,) so touched, that hereupon he ceased studying the school-doctors, and became an earnest student of true divinity. So the persecutor of Christ was now a zealous seeker after him, changing his cavilling and railing into diligent conference with Bilney and others; and he came also to Mr. Stafford, before he died, and desired him to forgive him.

After this, he was not satisfied with his own conversion, but, like a true disciple of the blessed Samaritan, pitied the misery of others; and became a public preacher and a private instructor of his brethren within the university for three years; spending his time partly in the Latin tongue, among the learned, and partly amongst the simple people. Howbeit, as Satan never sleepeth when he seeth his kingdom decline, so now, seeing this worthy member of Christ would be a shrewd shaker thereof, he raised up his servants to trouble him.

First came out the prior of the Black-friars, called Buckenham, who mightily endeavoured to confute his doctrine. Mr. Latimer, hearing this, came shortly after to the church, to answer the friar; whither resorted to him a great multitude, as well of the university as of the town, both doctors and other graduates, with great expectation, to hear what he could say; among whom also, directly in the face of Latimer, underneath the pulpit, sat Dr. Buckenham, whom Latimer so answered, that he durst never after peep out of the pulpit against him. But after this, whole swarms of friars and doctors flocked against him on every side, almost through the whole university, preaching and barking against him. Mr. Latimer, though he was thus baited by the friars, doctors, and masters of Cambridge, about the year 1529, continued yet in that university, preaching about the space of three years with favour and applause of the godly; also with such admiration of his enemies that heard him, that the bishop himself coming in, and hearing his gift, wished himself to have the like, and was compelled to commend him.

Latimer continued yet in Cambridge a certain space, where he and Bilney used much to confer together; in-somuch that the place where they used to walk in the fields was long after called, *The Heretics' Hill*. And these two were good examples to all such as would follow their doings, both in visiting the prisoners, in relieving the needy, and in feeding the hungry.

Latimer mentions a certain affair which occurred about this time, between them two and a certain woman then prisoner in the castle of Cambridge. It so happened that Latimer and Bilney went to visit the prisoners in the tower of Cambridge; where, among other prisoners, there was a woman who was accused that she had killed her own child; which act she steadfastly denied. Whereby it gave them occasion to search into the matter, and at length they found it was thus,—A child of hers had been sick a whole year, and at length died in harvest, in a consumption. When it was gone, she went to have her

neighbours to help her to the burial, but all were at harvest abroad, whereby she was forced, with heaviness of heart, alone to prepare the child for the burial. Her husband coming home, and not loving her, accused her of murdering the child. This was the cause of her trouble ; and Latimer, by strict inquiry, thought the woman not guilty. Immediately after he was called to preach before king Henry VIII. at Windsor, where, after his sermon, the king sent for him, and talked with him familiarly. At which time Latimer, finding opportunity, kneeled down, opened this whole affair to the king, and begged her pardon, which his majesty most graciously granted, and gave it him at his return homeward.

After Latimer had laboured in preaching and teaching in the university about three years, he was called to answer to the cardinal for heresy, where he was content to subscribe, and grant such articles as then they propounded to him. After that he returned to the university again. But shortly after, by means of Dr. Butts, the king's physician, a singularly good man, he went to court, where he remained some time, living with Dr. Butts, and preaching very often. At last, being weary of the court, having a benefice offered him by the king, at the suit of the lord Cromwell and Dr. Butts, he chose to depart, and reside at the same. This benefice was in Wiltshire, in the diocese of Sarum, and was called West-Kingston, where this good preacher exercised himself with much diligence to instruct his flock ; and his diligence extended not only to them, but also to all the country about. In fine, his diligence was so great, his preaching so mighty, the manner of his teaching so zealous, that he could not escape there also without enemies. So true it is, "Who soever will live godly in Christ, shall suffer persecution."

His chief molesters, besides the country priests, were Dr. Powel, of Salisbury, Dr. Wilson, some time of Cambridge, Mr. Hubberdine, and Dr Sherwood. Of whom, some preached against him, some also wrote against him ; insomuch that by their procurement he was cited

to appear before W. Warham, archbishop of Canterbury, and John Stokesley, bishop of London, January 29, 1531. Although Latimer appealed to his own ordinary against this citation, yet he was had up to London before the archbishop of Canterbury and the bishop of London, where he was greatly molested, and detained a long space from his cure. He was called thrice every week before the bishops, to make answer for his preaching, and had certain articles drawn out and laid to him, whereunto they required him to subscribe. But he durst not consent; though whether he was compelled afterwards to agree, through the cruel handling of the bishops, there is doubt.

In these so dangerous straits, it had been impossible to have escaped, had not the hand of the Highest preserved him through the power of his prince; who with much favour embraced him, and with his mere power delivered him out of the crooked claws of his enemies. Moreover, at length, through the procurement partly of Dr. Butts, partly of good Cromwell, he advanced him to the dignity of bishop of Worcester; who continued a few years instructing his diocese, according to the duty of a diligent and vigilant pastor, with wholesome doctrine, and an example of perfect conversation. It were long to stand particularly upon such things as might here be brought to the commendation of his pains; as study, readiness and a continual carefulness in teaching, preaching, exhorting, visiting, correcting, and reforming, either as his ability could serve, or the time would bear. But the days then were so dangerous and variable, that he could not in all things do what he would. Yet what he could do, that he performed to the uttermost of his strength; so that, although he could not utterly extinguish the old superstitions, yet he so wrought that they should be used with as little hurt, and with as much profit as might be.

But, (as before,) both in the university and at his benefice, he was tossed and troubled by wicked persons;

so in his bishopric also he was not clear of some that sought his hurt. Among many other evils willers, one especially there was, and that no mean person, who accused him to the king. His own words be these: "In the king's days, (who is dead,) a great many of us were called before him, to declare our minds in certain matters. In the end, one kneeled down and accused me of sedition; and that I preached seditious doctrine. The king turned to me and said, 'What say you to that, Sir?' Then I kneeled down, and turned me first to my accuser, and required him, 'Sir, what form of preaching would you appoint me, in preaching before a king? Would you have me preach nothing as concerning a king, in the king's sermon? Have you any commission to appoint me what I shall preach?' Besides this, I asked divers other questions, and he would make no answer to any. Then I turned to the king, and said, 'I never thought myself worthy, nor did I ever sue to be preacher before your grace, but I was called to it; and would be willing, if you mislike me, to give place to my betters; for I grant there be a great many more worthy of the room than I am. And if it be your grace's pleasure so to allow them for preachers, I could be content to bear their books after them. But if your grace allow me for a preacher, I would desire your grace to give me leave to discharge my conscience; give me leave to frame my doctrine according to my audience. I had been a very dolt, to have preached so at the borders of your realm, as I preach before your grace.' And I thank Almighty God, who hath always been my support, that my sayings were well accepted of the king; for, like a gracious lord, he turned to another communication. Certain of my friends came to me with tears in their eyes, and told me, they looked I should have been in the Tower the same night."

He continued in this laborious function of a bishop some years, till the coming out of the six articles. Then being distressed, so that either he must lose the quiet of a good conscience, or else forsake his bishopric, he did

of his own free accord resign his pastorship. At the time he first put off his rochet in his chamber, among his friends, he gave a sudden skip in the floor for joy, feeling his shoulder so light, and being discharged, as he said, of such an heavy burden. Howbeit, neither was he so lightened but that troubles and labours followed him wheresoever he went. For a little after he had renounced his bishopric, first he was almost killed, being sore bruised with the fall of a tree: then, coming up to London, he was molested and troubled by the bishops, whereby he was again in no little danger, and at length was cast into the Tower, where he remained prisoner till the time king Edward came to the crown; by means whereof his mouth, that had been long shut, was now opened again. And so he, beginning afresh, continued all the time of the said king, labouring in the Lord's harvest most fruitfully; employing his talent, as well in divers other places of this realm, as in Stamford, and before the dutchess of Suffolk; as also at London, in the Convocation-house, and before the king at the court. In the same place of the inward garden, which was before applied to courtly pastimes, he dispensed the fruitful word of the glorious gospel of Jesus Christ, preaching there to the king and his whole court, to the edification of many.

In this his office, he occupied himself all king Edward's days, preaching twice every Sunday, though he was above sixty-seven years of age. As to private studies, notwithstanding both his years, and pains in preaching, every morning orderly, winter and summer, about two o'clock he was at his books most diligently. How careful his heart was of the preservation of the church, and the good success of the gospel, his letters can testify, wherewith he admonished such as were then in authority of their duty, and assisted them with his godly counsel.

As the diligence of this man of God never ceased all the time of king Edward, to profit the church, both publicly and privately, so among other doings remarkable in him, this is not to be overlooked, that God not only gave

him his Spirit plenteously and comfortably to preach his word unto his church, but also by the same Spirit he so evidently foreshewed all those kinds of plagues before, which afterward ensued, that if England ever had a prophet, he might seem to be one. And as touching himself, he ever affirmed that the preaching of the gospel would cost him his life; to the which he no less cheerfully prepared himself, than certainly was persuaded that Winchester was kept in the Tower for the same purpose. After queen Mary was proclaimed, a pursuivant was sent down, by the means no doubt of Winchester, into the country, to call him up; of whose coming, although Latimer lacked no forewarning, being premonished about six hours before, by one John Careless, yet so far was he from any thought to escape, that he prepared himself towards his journey before the pursuivant came to his house. At which, when the pursuivant marvelled, seeing him so prepared towards his journey, he said unto him, "My friend, you are a welcome messenger: and be it known unto you, and to all the world, that I go as willingly to London at this present, (being called by my prince to render a reckoning of my doctrine,) as ever I went to any place in the world. I doubt not that as God hath made me worthy to preach his word before two excellent princes, so he will enable me to witness the same unto the third, either to her comfort or discomfort, eternally." The pursuivant, when he had delivered his letters, departed, affirming that he had commandment not to tarry for him. By whose departure it was manifest that they would not have him appear, but rather to have fled out of the realm. They knew that his constancy would condemn them in their popery, and confirm the godly in the truth.

Latimer coming to London, as he passed through Smithfield, he merrily said, That Smithfield had long groaned for him. Being brought before the council, he patiently bore all the mocks and taunts given of the scornful papists, and was cast into the Tower; where,

being assisted with the grace of Christ, he most patiently sustained imprisonment a long time, notwithstanding the cruel handling of the lordly papists. Indeed, he shewed himself not only patient, but also cheerful, in all that they could work against him; yea, such a valiant spirit the Lord gave him, that he was not only able to despise the terribleness of prisons and torments, but also to deride and laugh to scorn the doings of his enemies. For when the lieutenant's man upon a time came to him, the aged father, kept without fire in the frosty winter, and well nigh starved for cold, bade the man tell his master, 'That if he did not look better to him, perchance he should deceive him.' The lieutenant hearing this, and fearing he intended to escape, began to look more straitly to his prisoner, and coming to him, charged him with his words: "Yes, Mr. Lieutenant, so I said," quoth he, "for I think you look I should burn; but except you let me have some fire, I am likely to deceive your expectation, for I shall starve for cold."

After Latimer had been a long time in the Tower, he was carried from thence, with Dr. Cranmer and Dr. Ridley, to Oxford, by sir John Williams, there to dispute with the learned men of that place and of Cambridge, upon certain articles sent down from bishop Gardiner.

Friday, April 13, he was separated from his fellow-prisoners, and the next day they were all brought before the commissioners. The archbishop and Dr. Ridley first; and last of all came in Mr. Latimer, with a handkerchief and two or three caps on his head, his spectacles hanging by a string at his breast, and a staff in his hand, and was set in a chair. He also denied the articles. Then he had the next Wednesday appointed for disputation; but he alleged age, sickness, disuse, and lack of books, saying, That he was almost as meet to dispute, as to be a captain of Calais; but he would, he said, declare his mind, either by writing or word, and would stand to all they could lay upon his back; complaining, moreover, That he was permitted to have neither pen nor ink, nor yet any

book but only the New Testament there in his hand, which he said he had read over seven times deliberately, and yet could not find the mass in it, neither its marrow-bones, nor sinews. At which words the commissioners were not a little offended ; and Dr. Weston said, That he would make him grant that it had both marrow-bones and sinews in the New Testament. To whom Latimer said again, " That you will never do, Mr. Doctor ;" and so they forthwith put him to silence.

On Wednesday, the 18th day of April, Latimer was brought forth to dispute. The disputation began at eight o'clock. It was in English ; for Latimer alleged, that he was out of use with the Latin. There replied to Latimer, Mr. Smith, of Oriel college, Dr. Cartwright, and divers others, who gave him bitter taunts. He escaped no hissings and scornful laughings, no more than the archbishop and Dr. Ridley, who had disputed before him. He was very faint, and desired that he might not tarry long. The disputation ended before eleven o'clock ; though he was not suffered to read what he had, as he said, painfully written.

Dr. Weston began thus : " Men and brethren, we are come together this day, by the help of God, to vanquish the strength of the arguments of adversaries, against the real presence of the Lord's body in the sacrament. And therefore, you, father, if you have any thing to answer, I admonish that you answer in short and few words." Then Latimer replied, " I pray you, Mr. Prolocutor, do not exact that of me, which is not in me. I have not these twenty years much used the Latin tongue." Then said Dr. Weston, " Take your ease, father." " I thank you, Sir," said Latimer ; adding, " Let me here protest my faith, for I am not able to dispute ; and afterwards do your pleasure with me." He then read part of his protestation. After which he added, " I have heard much talk of Dr. Weston in my time ; but I never knew your person, till I came before you, as the queen's commissioner. I pray God send you so right judgment, as I per-

ceive you have a great wit, great learning, with many other qualities. God give you grace ever to use them well, and ever to have in remembrance, that He that dwelleth on high, looketh on the low things on the earth; and that there is no counsel against the Lord; and also that this world hath been, and yet is a tottering world. And yet again, that though we must obey the princes, yet that hath this limitation, namely, in the Lord. For whoso obey them against the Lord, they be most pernicious to them, and the greatest adversaries that they have. For they procure God's vengeance upon them, if God be only the ruler of things. There be some great, learned men, and yet men of no learning, but of railing, and raging about questions and strife of words. I call them men of no learning, because they know not Christ, how much else soever they know. For it is nothing but plain ignorance, to know any thing without Christ: whereas whoso knoweth Christ, the same hath knowledge enough, although in other knowledge he be to seek. The apostle St. Paul confesseth of himself to the Corinthians, that he did know nothing but Jesus Christ crucified. Many men babble many things of Christ, which yet know not Christ; but pretending Christ, do craftily colour and darken his glory. 'Depart from such men,' said St. Paul to Timothy. There be some that speak many false things more probable, and more like the truth, than the truth itself. Therefore Paul giveth a watch-word; 'Let no man deceive you with probability and persuasions of words.' " "What mean you (said one) by this talk so far from the matter?" "Well," said Latimer, "I hope, good masters, you will suffer an old man to play the child, and to speak one thing twice. O Lord God! you have changed the most holy communion into a private action; and you deny to the laity the Lord's cup, contrary to Christ's commandment: and you blemish the annunciation of the Lord's death till he come; for you have changed the common-prayer, called the divine service, with the administration of the sacraments, from the vulgar and known language,

into a strange tongue, contrary to the will of the Lord, revealed in his Word. God open the door of your heart, to see the things you should see herein. I would as fain obey my sovereign as any in this realm; but in these things I can never do it with an upright conscience. God be merciful unto us. Amen."

Weston said, "Refuse you to dispute? Will you then subscribe?" Latimer answered, "No. Good master, I pray be good to an old man. You may, if it please God, be once old as I am: you may come to this age, and to this debility. Disputation requireth a good memory; but my memory is clean gone, and marvellously weakened, and never the better I wist for the prison, where I have been these three quarters of a year." "Do you believe what you have written?" says Weston. "Yea, sir," replied Latimer. "Then," said Weston, "you have no faith." "Then should I be sorry, sir," said Latimer.

After much disputing, Weston said, "Well, Mr. Latimer, this is our intent, to will you well, and to exhort you to come to yourself, and remember, that without Noah's ark there is no salvation. Remember who were the beginners of your doctrine? A few apostates that fled from Germany, for fear of the faggot. And who set it forth in this realm? A pack of fling brains and light heads, never constant in one thing: they say they will be like the apostles: they care for no churches: a hovel is good enough for them. Your stubbornness cometh of a vain glory, which is to no purpose: for it will do you no good when a faggot is in your beard. The queen is merciful if ye will turn." "Then," says Latimer, "you shall have no hope in me to turn. I pray for the queen daily, from the bottom of my heart, that she may turn from this religion."

When the disputations were ended, the prisoners were all committed to prison again, and there continued from April to October; where they were most godly employed, as they had opportunity, either in brotherly conference,

fervent prayer, or useful writing. Bishop Latimer especially had much conference with bishop Ridley. I shall here subjoin part of an epistolary conference between them. Among many other things, Ridley wrote to Latimer thus :

“ In Tindale, where I was born, I have known my countrymen watch night and day in their harness, with their spears in their hands, when they had privy warning of the coming of the Scots. And so doing, although at every such skirmish some of them spent their lives, yet by such means they defended their country ; and all the country loved their offspring the better for their fathers’ sake. And in the quarrel of Christ our Saviour, in the defence of his own Divine ordinances, by which he giveth unto us life and immortality ; yea, in the quarrel of faith and the Christian religion, wherein resteth our everlasting salvation, shall not we watch ? shall not we go always armed ? ever looking, lest our adversary, who like a roaring lion seeketh whom he may devour, come upon us ? Yea, and woe be unto us, if he can oppress us unawares ; which undoubtedly he will do, if he find us sleeping. Let us awake therefore.. Let us not suffer our house to be broken up. Let us resist the devil manfully, and taking the cross upon our shoulders, let us follow our captain Christ, who by his own blood hath dedicated and hallowed the way which leadeth unto the Father, that is, to the light which no man can comprehend ; the fountain of the everlasting joys. Let us follow, I say, whither He calleth us, that after these afflictions, which last but for a moment, whereby He trieth our faith, as gold by the fire, we may everlastingly reign and triumph with him in the glory of the Father.

“ Good father, forasmuch as I have poured forth these my cogitations into your bosom, methinks I see you lifting up your head towards heaven, after your manner, and then looking upon me with your propheticall countenance, and speaking unto me with these or like words : ‘ Trust

not, my son,' (I beseech you to vouchsafe me the honour of this name,) 'to these word-weapons; for the kingdom of God is not in word, but in power. And remember always the words of the Lord. Do not imagine beforehand, what and how you will speak; for it shall be given you even in that same hour what you shall speak. For it is not you that speak, but the Spirit of your Father which is in you.' I pray you, therefore, father, pray for me, that I may cast my whole care upon God, and trust upon him in all perils. For I know, and am surely persuaded, that whatsoever I can imagine or think beforehand, it is nothing, except he assist me with his Spirit when the time is. I beseech you therefore, father, pray for me, that such a complete harness of the Spirit, such boldness of mind, may be given unto me, that I may out of a true faith say with David, 'I will not trust in my bow, and it is not my sword that shall save me. But the Lord's delight is in them that fear him, and put their trust in his mercy.' I beseech you, pray, pray, that I may enter this fight only in the name of God, and that when all is past, I, being not overcome, through his gracious aid, may remain and stand fast in him, till that day of the Lord, in the which, to them that obtain the victory, shall be given the living manna to eat, and a triumphant crown for evermore. Now, father, I pray you, help me to buckle on this armour a little better. For you know the deepness of Satan, being an old soldier, and have collared with him ere now; blessed be God, that hath ever aided you so well."

To which bishop Latimer answered :

"SIR,

"You shall not lack my prayer, trusting that you do the like for me; for indeed there is the help. Many things make confusion in memory. And if I were learned as well as St. Paul, I would not bestow much amongst them. There is no remedy but patience, now they have

the master-bowl in their hands. And better it is to suffer what they will put upon us, than to incur God's high indignation. Wherefore, good my lord, be of good cheer in the Lord, with due consideration what he requireth of you, and what he doth promise you. Our common enemy shall do no more than God will permit him. God is faithful, who will not suffer us to be tormented above our strength. Be at a point what you will stand to; stick to that, and let them both say and do what they list. They can but kill the body, which is of itself mortal. Neither yet shall they do that when they list, but when God will suffer them. To use many words with them will be but in vain, now they have a bloody law prepared for them. But it is very requisite that you give an account of your faith, if they will quietly hear you; else, you know, in a wicked place of judgment, a man may keep silence, after the example of Christ. Let them not deceive you with their sophisms and fallacies. You know that false things may have the appearance of truth. Neither is it requisite that with the contentious you should follow strife of words, which tend not to edification, but to the subversion of the hearers. Fear of death doth persuade a great number. Be well aware of that argument; that persuaded Shaxton, after he had once made a good profession openly before the judgment-seat. The flesh is weak, but the willingness of the spirit shall refresh the weakness of the flesh.

“The number of the criers under the altar must needs be fulfilled. If we are called thereunto, happy are we. That is the greatest promotion that God giveth in this world, to be such, to whom it is given not only to believe, but also to suffer. But who is able to do these things? Surely all our ability, all our sufficiency is of God. He requireth and promiseth. Let us declare our obedience to his will, when it shall be requisite in the time of trouble, yea, in the midst of the fire. Pray for me, pray for me, I say; pray for me, I say. For I am some times so fearful that I would creep into a mouse-hole; sometimes

God doth visit me again with his comfort. So he cometh and goeth, to teach me to feel and know mine infirmity, to the intent I should give thanks to him, that is worthy, lest I should rob him of his due, as many do, and almost all the world. Fare ye well."

Although Mr. Latimer, by reason of the feebleness of his age, wrote least of them all in this latter time of his imprisonment ; yet in prayer he was fervently occupied, wherein he oftentimes continued kneeling so long, that he was not able to rise without help : and amongst other things, these were the three principal matters he prayed for :

1. That as God had appointed him to be a preacher of his Word, so also he would give him grace to stand to his doctrine until his death.
2. That God of his mercy would restore his gospel to England once again ; and these words, *once again, once again*, he did so inculcate, as though he had seen God before him, and spoken to him face to face.
3. For the preservation of the princess, afterwards queen Elizabeth, whom in his prayers he was wont to name, and even with tears desired God to make her a comfort to this comfortless realm of England. Neither were these things desired by him in vain.

Sept. 30, 1556. After Dr. Ridley had been examined, bishop Latimer was sent for to be examined also before the commissioners. Accordingly he came, habited as usual ; having a kerchief on his head, and upon that a nightcap or two, and a great cap with two broad flaps to button under his chin. He wore on his back an old thread-bare frize gown, girded about with a penny leathern girdle ; at which hung his testament by a leathern string, and his spectacles, without a case, hung upon his breast by a string that went about his neck. He tarried some time in the divinity-school, before he was called for.

Afterwards being placed before the commissioners, he said, "My lords, if I must appear again, I pray you not to send for me until you are ready ; for I am an old man, and it is great hurt unto mine old age to tarry so long, gazing upon the cold wall." Then the bishop of Lincoln said, "Mr. Latimer, I am sorry you were brought so soon, although it is the bailiff's fault ; but yet it shall be amended." Then Latimer bowed his knee to the ground, holding his hat in his hand.

The bishop of Lincoln then with many words, exhorted him to recant. And when he had done speaking, Latimer lifted up his head, (for before he leaned on his elbow,) and asked, whether his lordship had spoken ? The bishop answered, "Yes." "Then will your lordship give me leave to speak a word or two?" says Latimer. "Yes, Mr. Latimer, so that you use a modest kind of talk, without railings or taunts," says the bishop. "I beseech your lordship, then," said Latimer, "license me to sit down." "At your pleasure, Mr. Latimer," replied the other, "take as much ease as you will."

After some discourse, the bishop of Gloucester took occasion to upbraid Latimer for want of learning. Latimer interrupting him, said, "You look for learning at my hands, who have gone so long to the school of oblivion, making the bare walls my library, keeping me so long in prison without book, or pen and ink ; and now let me loose to come and answer to articles. You deal with me as though two were appointed to fight for life and death, and over night the one is cherished, and hath good counsel given him, how to encounter with his enemy. The other, for envy or lack of friends, all the whole night is set in the stocks. In the morning, when they shall meet, the one is in strength and lusty ; the other is stark in his limbs, and almost dead for feebleness. Think you, that to run this man through with a spear, is not a goodly victory?"

Then the bishop of Lincoln rehearsed the articles, as before to Ridley, and required Latimer's answer to the

first. Then Latimer making his protestation, that notwithstanding these his answers, it should not be taken, that thereby he would acknowledge any authority of the bishop of Rome, he answered as followeth: "I do not deny that in the sacrament by spirit and grace, is the very body and blood of Christ; because that every man, by receiving bodily that bread and wine, spiritually receiveth the body and blood of Christ, and is made partaker thereby of the merits of Christ's passion: but I deny that the body and blood of Christ is in such sort in the sacrament, as you would have it." Then said the bishop of Lincoln, "What say you to the second article?" Latimer replied, "There is, my lord, a change in the bread and wine, and such a change as no power but the omnipotence of God can make, inasmuch as that which before was bread, should now have the dignity to exhibit Christ's body, and yet the bread is still bread, and the wine still wine; for the change is not in the nature, but in the dignity; because now that which was common bread hath the dignity to exhibit Christ's body; for whereas it was common bread, it is now no more common bread, neither ought it so to be taken, but as holy bread sanctified by God's Word."

The bishop then asked him, "What say you to the third question?" "My lord, Christ made one perfect sacrifice for all the whole world, neither can any man offer him again; neither can the priest offer up Christ again for the sins of man, which he took away by offering himself once for all, as St. Paul saith, upon the cross; neither is there any propitiation for our sins, saving his cross only."

After several questions, to which Latimer did not give such answers as the bishop liked, the bishop told him, he must appear again to-morrow at eight in St. Mary's church. And forthwith he charged the mayor with Latimer, and dismissed him, and then brake up their session for that day.

On the first day of October, after sentence had been

passed by the bishop of Lincoln upon Ridley, and he was committed as a prisoner to the mayor, immediately Latimer was sent for; but in the mean time the carpet which lay upon the table whereon Ridley stood, was removed, because Latimer had never the degree of a doctor, as Ridley had. When Latimer appeared, apparelled as the day before, perceiving no cloth upon the table, he laid his hat, which was an old felt, under his elbows, and spake to the commissioners, saying, "My lords, I beseech your lordships to set a better order here at your entrance; for I am an old man, and have a very bad back, so that the press of the multitude hurts me much." The bishop told him he was sorry for his hurt, and then began to examine him.

After his answers were penned by the notaries, and the bishop of Lincoln had exhorted him to recant, as he had done Ridley, and Latimer had answered, that he neither could nor would deny his master Christ, and his truth, the bishop desired him to hearken to him. Then Latimer, hearkening for some new matter, the bishop read his condemnation of burning. After which Latimer said, "I thank God most heartily, that he hath prolonged my life, to the end that I may glorify God by this kind of death." Dr. Weston answered him, "If you go to heaven in this faith, I will never come thither." Then they broke up their sessions, and the bishop committed Latimer to the mayor, who had him again to prison, where he lay till the day of execution.

October 16, 1555, he was brought forth to be burnt with Dr. Ridley. He had on a poor thread-bare frize frock, with his buttoned cap, and a kerchief on his head, all ready for the fire, and a new long shroud hanging over his hose down to his feet: which at first sight moved men's hearts; beholding on one hand, the honour they lately had, and on the other the calamity whereunto they were fallen.

Dr. Ridley, having been led on a little before, looking back, espied Mr. Latimer coming after; to whom he

said, "Oh! oh! are you there?" "Yes," answered Latimer, very cheerfully, "have after, as fast I can follow." So he followed at a distance, till he came to the stake, where the doctor embraced and encouraged him. Then they kneeled down and prayed. Dr. Smith preached a sermon, which being ended, Mr. Latimer said, he could answer him well enough if they would suffer him; and then subjoined his usual saying, "Well, there is nothing hid, but it shall be opened."

Being commanded to prepare themselves, Mr. Latimer very quietly suffered his keeper to pull off his hose, and his other array, which to look unto was very simple; and being stripped into his shroud, he seemed as comely a person to them that were present, as one should see; and whereas in his clothes he appeared a withered and crooked silly old man, he now stood bolt upright, as comely a father as one might lightly behold.

When he and Dr. Ridley were chained to the stake, and the faggots were set round them, they brought a lighted faggot, and placed it at Dr. Ridley's feet. Then said Mr. Latimer, be of good comfort, Mr. Ridley, and play the man; we shall this day, by God's grace, light such a candle in England, as, I trust, shall never be put out." While Dr. Ridley was praying on one side of the stake, Mr. Latimer cried as vehemently on the other, "O Father of heaven, receive my soul." He received the flame as it were embracing it; and after he had stroked his face with his hands, and, as it were, bathed them a little in the fire, he soon died, as it seemed, with very little or no pain. And thus much concerning this old and faithful servant of God, for whose fruitful life, and constant death, the whole realm hath cause to give great thanks to Almighty God.

THE HISTORY
OF
MR. JOHN PHILPOT.



MR. JOHN PHILPOT was a knight's son, born in Hampshire, and brought up at New college in Oxford, where he studied the civil law six or seven years, besides other liberal arts, and the tongues. He was of a singular courage, fervent in spirit, zealous in religion, and well exercised in the same; of nature plain and open, far from all flattery, farther from all hypocrisy and dissimulation. Being desirous to see other countries, he went from Oxford over into Italy, where coming from Venice to Padua, he was in danger, through a certain Franciscan friar, accompanying him in his journey; who coming to Padua, sought to accuse him of heresy. At length returning into England, in the days of king Edward, he had divers conflicts with Gardiner, in the city of Winchester. After that he was made archdeacon of Winchester, under Dr. Poinet, who succeeded Gardiner in that bishopric during the time of king Edward. He held his office during this reign, to the no small profit of those parts. When that blessed king was taken away, queen Mary caused a convocation of the prelates and learned men to meet. In this convocation, Philpot being present, with a few others, maintained the cause of the

Gospel ; for which cause, notwithstanding the liberty of the house promised before, he was called to account before bishop Gardiner : from thence he was removed to Bonner, and other commissioners, with whom he had sundry conflicts.

The first examinaton of Mr. Philpot before the queen's commissioners, Mr. Cholmley, Mr. Roper, and Dr. Story, and one of the scribes of the Arches, was at Newgate Sessions-hall, October 22, 1555. Dr. Story coming out into the hall where Philpot was, and passing by him, said, " Ha, Mr. Philpot ! " and immediately returning again, stood over-against him, beholding him, and said that he was well fed indeed. To which Philpot replied, " If I am fat and in good liking, doctor, it is no wonder, since I have been stalled up in prison this year and half, in a close corner. I am come to know your pleasure wherefore you have sent for me." Story answered, " We hear that thou art a suspected person, and of heretical opinions, and therefore we have sent for thee."

Then, after much talk, Philpot said, " I desire you, Sir, with the rest here, that I be not charged further at your hands, than the law chargeth me, for what I have done, since there was no law directly against that, wherewith I am now charged. And you, doctor, (of old acquaintance in Oxford,) I trust will shew me some friendship, and not extremity." Story replied, " I tell thee, if thou wouldst be a good catholic man, I would be thy friend, and spend my gown to do thee good ; but I will be no friend to an heretic, as thou art, but will spend both my gown and my coat, but I will burn thee. And since thou wilt not revoke what thou hast done, thou shalt be had into the Lollards-tower." At his threatening thus, Philpot said, " You have power to transfer my body from place to place at your pleasure ; but you have no power over my soul. And I care not whither you commit me, for I cannot be worse treated than I am." Then said Story, " Marshal, take him home with you again, and see that you bring him again on Thursday, and then

we shall rid your fingers of him, and afterward your other heretics." After some other words, Philpot said, "If I do stand in any thing against that, wherein any man can charge me, with one jot of the Scripture, I shall be content to be counted an heretic."

At which Story cried, "Scripture! Scripture! This man is like his fellow Woodman, which the other day would have nothing else but Scripture." Saying this he rose up, and they departed for this time.

October 24, 1555, Mr. Philpot was examined again before Mr. Cholmley, Roper, Dr. Story, Dr. Cook, and the scribe, at Newgate Sessions-hall. Here Dr. Story said, "This man is the rankest heretic that hath been in all my lord chancellor's diocese, and hath done more hurt than any man else there; and therefore his pleasure is, that he should have the law to proceed against him, and I have spoken with my lord herein, and he willeth him to be committed to the bishop of London, and there to recant or burn." Philpot said, "I know nothing that I have done that I ought to recant; and I deny that I have maintained heresies." "No," says Cooke, "have you not? Did you not openly speak against the sacrament of the altar, in the convocation-house? Call you that no heresy? Wilt thou recant that, or not?" To this Philpot answered, "It was the queen's pleasure that we should reason thereof, not by my seeking, but by other men's procuring, in the hearing of the council." After much dispute, when they could not make him yield, Dr. Story called in the keeper of the Lollards-tower, saying, "Take this man with you to the Lollards-tower, or to the bishop's coal-house." Then said Philpot, "Sir, if I were a dog you could not appoint me a worse and more vile place; but I must be content with whatever injury you offer me. God forgive you, and give you more merciful hearts, and shew you more mercy in time of need."

After this, he and four others were brought to the keeper's house, in Paternoster-row, where they supped; and after supper he was called up to a chamber, by the

archdeacon of London's servant, in his master's name, who offered him a bed for that night. To whom he gave thanks, saying, That it would be a grief to him to lie well one night, and the next worse; "wherefore I will begin, (said he,) as I am like to continue, to take such part as my fellows do." And with that they were brought to my lord of London's coal-house; unto the which is joined a little blind house, with a great pair of stocks, appointed both for hand and foot; there they found Thomas Whittle, a minister of Essex, a married priest, a man of godly zeal, with one other poor man. And this minister, at Mr. Philpot's coming, desired to speak with him, and greatly lamented his infirmity, for that through extremity of imprisonment he was constrained, by writing, to yield to the bishop of London. Whereupon he was once set at liberty, and afterward felt such a hell in his conscience, that he could scarce refrain from destroying himself, and never could be at quiet till he had gone to the bishop's register, desiring to see his bill again, which as soon as he had received, he tore in pieces; and afterward he was as joyful as any man might be; which, when the bishop understood, he sent for Whittle, and fell upon him like a lion, and buffeted him, so that he made his face black and blue, and plucked away a great part of his beard. "I write this, (says he,) because I desire all men to take heed how they do contrary to their consciences; which is to fall into the pains of hell."

After he had been two nights in the coal-house, he was called before the bishop, who pretended that he had no knowledge before of his being there, for which he was sorry. After some discourse, Bonner said, "You were twenty years ago of another faith than you are now." Philpot answered, "Indeed, my lord, to tell you plainly, I was then *nullius fidei, of no faith*, a neuter, a wicked liver, neither hot nor cold." "Why, (says Bonner,) do you not think that we have now the true faith?" To this Philpot replied, "I desire your lordship to hold me excused for answering at this time. I am sure that God's

word, thoroughly with the primitive church, and all the ancient writers, do agree with this faith I am of." Then said Bonner, "Well, I promise you I mean you no more hurt, than to mine own person. I will not therefore burden you with your conscience now. But I marvel that you are so merry in prison as you are, singing and rejoicing, as the prophet saith, in your naughtiness. Methinks you do not well herein; you should rather lament and be sorry." Philpot answered, "My lord, the mirth that we make, is but singing certain psalms, according as we are commanded by St. Paul, willing us to be 'merry in the Lord, singing together in hymns and psalms:' and I trust your lordship cannot be displeased with that. We are, my lord, in a dark comfortless place, therefore it behoveth us to be merry, lest, as Solomon saith, sorrowfulness eat up our heart." "Well," says Bonner, "I will trouble you no further now. If I can do you any good, I will be glad to do it for you." After that he was carried to my lord's coal-house again; where, says he, "I with my six fellows, do rouse together as cheerfully, (we thank God,) as others do in their beds of down."

October 27, he was examined again, before the bishops of London, Bath, Worcester, and Gloucester. Bonner opened the scene with a flattering speech, and then bade him utter his mind freely. But before he could reply, the bishop of Worcester said, "Before he beginneth to speak, it is best that he call to God for grace, and pray God to open his heart, that he may conceive the truth." With that, Mr. Philpot fell down upon his knees before them, and prayed in this manner: "Almighty God, who art the giver of all wisdom and understanding, I beseech thee of thine infinite goodness and mercy in Jesus Christ, to give me, a most vile sinner in thy sight, the spirit of wisdom to speak and make answer in thy cause, that it may be to the content of the hearers; and also to my better understanding, if I be deceived in any thing." Then said Bonner, "Nay, my lord of Worcester, you

did not well to exhort him to make any prayer. For this is the thing they have a singular pride in. For in this point they are much like to certain arrant heretics, of whom Pliny makes mention, that did daily sing *Ante-lucanos hymnos*, ‘Praise unto God before dawning of the day.’” Philpot replied, “My Lord God make me, and all you here, such heretics as those were that sung those morning hymns; for they were right Christians, with whom the tyrants of the world were offended for their well-doing.” Then said my lord of Bath, “Proceed: he hath prayed, I cannot tell for what.”

Then spake Bonner thus, “Say on, Mr. Philpot, my lords will gladly hear you.” Philpot answered, “I would willingly shew my mind; but I am sure it will be laid against me to my prejudice when I come to judgment.” Then replied Dr. Cole, “Why then you may speak by protestation.” “But what shall my protestation avail,” says Philpot, “in a cause of heresy, as you call it, if I speak otherwise than you will have me, since that which I spake in the convocation-house, being a place privileged, cannot now help me?” “You will be obstinate,” says Bonner, “and will not shew any cause why you will not come into the unity of the church with us.” Philpot replied, “My lords, in that I do not declare my mind, it is, (as I have said,) because I cannot speak without danger of my life. But rather than you shall report me obstinate, I will open unto you somewhat of my mind, or rather the whole; desiring your lordships to satisfy me in the same. I will refer all unto one or two articles; or rather to one, which includeth them both; in which if I can by Scripture be satisfied, I shall willingly agree to you in all other points.” Then said Bonner, “These heretics come always with their *ifs*, as this man doth now, saying, *if* he can be satisfied by the Scriptures. Will you promise to be satisfied, if my lords take some pains about you?” Philpot answered, “I say, my lords, I will be satisfied by the Scriptures. And I profest here before God, and his eternal Son, Jesus

Christ, my Saviour, and the Holy Ghost, and his angels, and you here present, that be judges of what I speak, that I do not stand in any opinion, of wilfulness, or singularity, but only upon my conscience, informed by God's word, from which I dare not go for fear of damnation; and this is the cause of mine earnestness in this matter. My lords, it is not unknown to you, that the chief cause why you count me, and such as I am, heretics, is, because we are not at unity with your church. You say you are of the true church; and we say, we are of the true church. You say, that whosoever is out of your church, is damned; and we think, that if we depart from the true church, whereon we are grafted in God's word, we should stand in the state of damnation. Wherefore, if your lordship can bring any better authority for your church than we do for ours, and prove by the Scriptures, that the church of Rome now is the true catholic church; and that all Christian persons ought to be ruled by the same, under pain of damnation; and that the same church hath authority to interpret the Scriptures, as it seemeth her good, and that all men are bound to follow such interpretations, I shall be as conformable to the same church as you may desire me, which otherwise I dare not be: therefore I require you, for God's sake, to satisfy me in this. It is the thing that I require, and to this I have said I will stand, and refer all other controversies."

"Dr. Cole," says Bonner, "I pray you, say your mind to him." Then said Dr. Cole, "What will you say, if I can prove that it was decreed by an universal council in Athanasius's time, that all the Christian church should follow the determination of the church of Rome?" Philpot answered, "I think you are not able to shew any such thing. Athanasius was president of the Nicene council, and there was no such thing decreed, I am sure." Then said Dr. Cole, "Though it were not then, it might be at another time." "But," says Philpot, "I desire to see proof thereof." Then the bishop of Worcester began,

“It is to be proved most manifestly, by all ancient writers, that the see of Rome hath always followed the truth, and never was deceived, till of late certain heretics have defaced the same.” “Let that be proved,” says Philpot, “and I have done.” Worcester replied, “Nay, you are of such arrogancy and vain-glory, that you will not see it, be it never so well proved.” Then said Philpot, “Ha, my lords, is it now time, (think you,) for me to follow vain-glory, since I am now upon danger of life and death; and I know, if I die not in the true faith, I shall die everlastingly: and again I know, if I do not say and do as you would have me, you will kill me and many thousands more; yet had I rather perish at your hands, than to perish eternally. And at this time I have lost all my commodities of this world, and lie in a coal-house, where a man would not lay a dog, with which I am well contented.”

Dr. Cole then asked, “Are you able to prove that the church of Rome hath erred at any time? Certain it is, by Eusebius, that the church was established at Rome by Peter and Paul: and that Peter was bishop 25 years at Rome.” Philpot replied, “I know well that Eusebius so writeth; but if we compare what St. Paul writes to the Galatians, chap. i. it will manifestly appear, that he was not half so long there. He lived not past 35 years after he was called to be an apostle: and Paul maketh mention of his abiding at Jerusalem, after Christ’s death, more than 13 years.” Here Dr. Cole took him up, saying, “What did Peter write to the Galatians?” Philpot answered, “No, I say Paul, writing to the Galatians, maketh mention of Peter, and of his abiding at Jerusalem: and further, I am able to prove, both by Eusebius, and other historiographers, that the church of Rome hath manifestly erred, and at this present doth err, because she agreeth not with that which they wrote.” Then spoke Bonner to this effect, “I may compare this man to a certain man, who went into a wood to hang himself, and when he came thither, he went viewing every tree, and

could find none on which he might vouchsafe to hang himself. But I pray you, Mr. Doctor, go on with him." The doctor replied, "My lord, there are persons on every side that are better able to answer him, for I love not disputation."

Then said the bishop of Worcester, "Mr. Philpot, you have the spirit of pride, which will not let you yield to the truth: leave it for shame." Philpot answered, "Sir, I am sure I have the spirit of faith, by which I speak at this present; neither am I ashamed to stand to my faith." Then said my lord of Gloucester, "What! do you think yourself better learned, than so many learned men as are here?" Philpot answered, "Elijah alone had the truth, when there were 400 priests against him." "And yet," said Worcester, "I tell thee he was deceived; for he thought there had been none good but himself, when there were 7000 beside him." Philpot answered, "Yea, but he was not deceived in doctrine, as the other 400 were." Then said Worcester, "By my faith you are greatly to blame, that you cannot be content to be of the church." Philpot replied, "My lord, I know Rome, and have been there, where I saw your lordship." "Indeed," says the bishop, "I fled from hence thither. But am sorry you have been there; for the wickedness which you have seen there, peradventure, causeth you to do as you do." Philpot answered, "No, my lord, I do not act as I do for that cause; for I am taught otherwise by the gospel; not altogether to refuse the minister for his evil living, so that he bring sound doctrine out of God's book." Then said Worcester, "I am sorry that you should be against the Christian world." Philpot answered, "The world commonly, and such as are called Christians, have hated the truth, and been enemies to the same." "Why, Mr. Philpot," says Gloucester, "do you think the universal church hath erred, and that you only are in the truth?" Philpot replied, "The church that you are of was never universal; for two parts of the world, which is Asia and Africa, never consented to the

supremacy of the bishop of Rome, as at this day they do not, neither do follow his decrees." Gloucester said, "Yes, in the Florentine council they did agree." "It was said so by false report," answered Philpot, "after they of Asia and Africa were gone home; but it was not so indeed, as the sequel hitherto doth prove."

Then Gloucester asked, "I pray you by whom will you be judged in matters of controversy." Philpot answered, "By the word of God. For Christ saith in St. John, 'The word that he spake shall be judge in the last day'" Then says Gloucester, "What if you take the word one way, and I another way; who shall be judge then?" Philpot answered, "The primitive church." "I know you mean the doctors that wrote thereof," says Gloucester. "I mean verily so," says Philpot. But says the other, "What if you take the doctors in one sense, and I in another, who shall be judge then?" He replied, "Then let that be taken, which is most agreeable to God's word." Then Dr. Cole spake, "My lords, why do you trouble yourselves to hear him in this matter? It is not the thing which is laid to his charge, but his error of the sacrament, and he, to shift himself of that, brought in another matter." Philpot replied, "This is the matter, Mr. Cole, to which I have referred all other questions." Then said the bishop of Worcester, "It is a wonder to see how he standeth with a few against a great multitude. Thou art the arrogantest fellow that ever I knew." Philpot answered, "I pray your lordship to bear with my hasty speech; for it is part of my corrupt nature to speak somewhat hastily: but for all that, I mean with humility to do my duty to your lordship." "God send you more grace," says Worcester. Philpot replied, "And may God increase the same in you, and open your eyes, that you may see to maintain his truth, and his true church." Then the bishops rose up, and consulted together, and caused a writing to be made; in which "I think, (says he,) my blood was bought and

sold, and thereto they put their hands ; and I was carried to my coal-house again."

After this he was examined the fifth time, before the bishops of London, Rochester, Coventry, and St. Asaph; Dr. Curtop, Dr. Saverson, Dr. Pendleton, and divers others, in the gallery of my lord of London's palace ; concerning the universality of the church of Rome, the pope's supremacy, and the like ; all which he confuted. In the close of this examination, after some dispute about the foresaid points, Dr. Saverson said, " I wonder you will stand so steadfast in your error, to your own destruction." Philpot replied, " I am sure we are in no error, by the promise Christ once made ; that he would give his true church such a spirit of wisdom, that the adversaries should not be able to resist. Who of your synagogue of Rome could ever answer any of the godly ministers of Germany, who have disclosed your counterfeit religion ?"

After this Dr. Story came in. To whom Philpot said, " Doctor, you have done me great injury, imprisoning me more like a dog than a man." Story answered, " Was there ever such a fantastical man as this is ? Nay, he is no man, he is a beast ; these heretics are worse than brute beasts ; they take upon them to be wiser than all men, being indeed very fools and ass-heads, unable to maintain that, which of an arrogant obstinacy they stand in." " Doctor," said Philpot, " I am content to abide your railing ; God forgive it you. Yet I am no heretic. Neither you, nor any other can prove, that I hold any jot against the word of God." " The Word of God ! (said Story, with a sneer.) Forsooth, the Word of God ! Who shall judge of the word whereto thou standest ?" " The word itself," says Philpot. " See the ignorance of this heretic," says Story, " he willeth the word to be judged of the word. Can the word speak ? Let us hear what wise authority thou canst bring in ?" Philpot answered, " It is the saying of Christ, ' The word which I have spoken, shall judge in the last day.' If the word

shall judge in the last day, much more it ought to judge our doings now. I am sure I have my judge on my side, who shall absolve and justify me in another world. And howsoever you unrighteously judge me now, sure I am in another world to judge you." "What," says Story, "you purpose to be a stinking martyr, and to sit in judgment with Christ at the last day, to judge the twelve tribes of Israel?" Philpot answered, "Yea, sir, I doubt not thereof, having the promise of Christ, if I die for righteousness sake, which you have begun to persecute in me." Story answered, "I told you it was but vain to argue with this heretic." "If ye can prove the church of Rome to be the true church," says Philpot, "I will yield." Story replied, "What a fellow is this? He will believe nothing but what he himself lists. Are not we in possession of the church? Have not our forefathers, these many hundred years taken this church for the catholic church, whereof we are now? And if we had none other proof but this, it were sufficient; for the prescription of time maketh a good title in the law." Philpot said, "You do well, Mr. Doctor, to allege prescription of many years; for it is all that you have to shew for yourselves. But you must understand, *In divinis nulla occurrit præscriptio*, that prescription hath no place in matters belonging to God, as I am able to shew by the testimony of many doctors." Then said Story, "Well, sir, you are like to go after your father, Hugh Latimer, the sophister, and Ridley, who had nothing to allege for himself, but that he had learned his heresy of Cranmer. I despatched them; and I tell thee that there hath been yet never a one burnt, but I have been a cause of his despatch." Philpot replied, "You have the more to answer for, doctor, as you shall feel in another world, how much soever you do now triumph in your proceedings." Story answered, "I tell thee, I will never be confessed thereof. And because I cannot tarry to speak with my lord, I pray one of you tell him, that my coming was to signify to his lordship, that he must out of hand

rid this heretic out of the way." And going away, he said to him, "I certify thee, that thou mayest thank none other man but me." Philpot replied, "I thank you therefore, and God forgive it you." "What! dost thou thank me?" said Story. "If I had thee in my study half an hour, I think I should make thee sing another song." "No, Mr. Doctor," says Philpot, "I stand upon too sure a ground to be overthrown by you now."

Then they all departed away from him, one after another. Afterwards going with his keeper to the coal-house, as he went he met with my lord of London, who spake to him gently, as he had hitherto done, saying, "If there be any pleasure I may shew you in my house, I pray you require it, and you shall have it." "My lord," says he, "the pleasure that I will require of your lordship, is to hasten my judgment which is committed to you, and to despatch me forth of this miserable world, unto my eternal rest. And for all this fair speech, I cannot attain hitherto, either fire or candle, or yet good lodging. But it is good for a man to be brought low in this world, and to be counted amongst the vilest, that he may in time of reward receive exaltation and glory. Therefore praised be God, that hath humbled me, and given me grace with gladness to be content therewith. Let all that love the truth say, Amen!"

His sixth examination was Nov. 6, upon the articles of transubstantiation, and the universality of the church of Rome, to which he would by no means consent. And the seventh, before the bishops of London and Rochester, the chancellor of Litchfield, and Dr. Chedsey, Nov. 19. The bishop of London began thus: "Sirrah, come hither. How chance you came no sooner? Is it well done of you to make Mr. Chancellor and me to tarry for you this hour? By the faith of my body, half an hour before mass, and half an hour even at mass, looking for your coming," Philpot answered, "My lord, it is not unknown to you that I am a prisoner, and that the doors are shut upon me, and I cannot come when I list; but

as soon as the doors of my prison were open, I came immediately." Then said Bonner, "We sent for thee to the intent thou shouldst have come to mass. How say you, would you have come to mass or not, if the doors had been opened sooner? Answer directly." Philpot said, "Mine answer shall be thus: If your lordship can prove your mass, whereunto you would have me to come, to be the true service of God, whereunto a Christian ought to come, I will afterward come with a good will." "Look, I pray you," says Bonner, "the king, the queen, and all the nobility of the realm come to mass, and yet you will not. By my faith, thou art too well handled: thou shalt be worse handled hereafter, I warrant thee. You think, because my lord chancellor is gone, (meaning Stephen Gardiner, who in this month died a little before,) that we will burn no more: yes, I warrant thee, I will despatch you shortly, unless you recant." Then said the chancellor, "Cast not yourself wilfully away, Mr. Philpot. Be content to be ruled by my lord here, and by other learned men of this realm, and you may do well enough." Philpot replied, "My conscience beareth me record that I seek to please God, and that the love and fear of God causeth me to do as I do: and I were of all other creatures most miserable, if, for mine own will only, I should lose all the commodities I might have in this life, and afterward be cast to damnation. But I am sure, it is not my will whereon I stand, but God's will; which will not suffer me to be cast away, I am sure." "Nay," says the chancellor, "you are not so sure, but you may be deceived." After this, they had a long disputation upon the old articles, but they could gain no ground of him; wherefore they went their ways, and his keeper took him again to the coal-house. ♣

Nov. 20, early in the morning, he was brought before the bishop of London, who said to him, "Philpot, I charge you to answer to such articles as my chaplain and my register have from me to object against you; go and answer them." Philpot replied, "My lord, all judgments

ought to be publick. Therefore if your lordship have any thing to charge me with, let me be in judgment lawfully and openly called, and I will answer according to my duty; otherwise in corners I will not." Then said Bonner, "Thou art a foolish knave, I see well enough. Thou shalt answer whether thou wilt or not; go thy ways with them, I say." Philpot answered, "I will go with them at your lordship's pleasure; but I will make them no further answers than I have said already." "No," says Bonner, "wilt thou not, knave? Have him away, and set him in the stocks: what, foolish knave?" "Indeed, my lord," says Philpot, "you handle me, with others, like fools: and we must be content to be made fools at your hands. Stocks and violence are your bishop-like arms. You go about by force in corners to oppress, and are ashamed that your doings should come to light. God shorten your cruel kingdom for his mercy's sake." Then he was put into the stocks, in an house alone, separate from his fellows. "God be praised," said he, "that he hath thought me worthy to suffer any thing for his name's sake. Better it is to sit in the stocks of this world, than to sit in the stocks of a condemning conscience."

The day after, an hour before day, the bishop of London sent for him again by the keeper, who bade him arise, and come to him. "I wonder what my lord means," said Philpot, "that he sendeth for me thus early, I fear he will use some violence towards me, wherefore I pray you make him this answer, that if he sends for me by an order of law, I will come and answer; otherwise, since I am not of his diocese, neither is he mine ordinary, I will not, without I be constrained, come unto him." With this answer the keeper went to the bishop, and immediately returned with two of the bishop's men, saying, that he must come whether he would or not; and therewith one of them took him with force by the arm, and led him up into the bishop's gallery. As soon as the bishop saw him, he said, "What, thou art a foolish knave indeed! thou wilt not come without thou be

fetches." Then said Philpot, "I am brought indeed, my lord, by violence unto you, and your cruelty is such, that I am afraid to come before you. I would your lordship would gently proceed against me by law. The bishop replied, "I am blamed of the lords, the bishops, for that I have not despatched thee ere this. And in faith I made suit to my lord cardinal, and to all the convocation-house, that they would hear thee. And my lord of Lincoln stood up and said, that thou wert a frantic fellow, and a man that will have the last word: and they say it is meat and drink to you to speak in an open audience. Wherefore I am commanded to take a further order with thee; and, in good faith, if you will not relent, I will make no farther delay. Marry, if thou wilt be conformable, I will yet forgive thee all that is past, and thou shalt have no hurt for any thing that is already spoken." Philpot replied, "My lord, I have answered you already in this behalf. And as for the report of Mr. White, bishop of Lincoln, I care not; who is known to be mine enemy, for that I being archdeacon did excommunicate him for preaching naughty doctrine. If Christ, my master, was called a madman, it is no wonder you count me frantic."

Then the bishop asked, "Hadst thou not a pig brought to thee the other day with a knife in it? Wherefore was it, I pray thee, but to kill thyself? Or, as it is told me, (marry I am counselled to take heed of thee,) to kill me? But I fear thee not. I trow I am able to tread thee under my feet; do the best thou canst." Philpot replied, "My lord, I cannot deny but that there was a knife in the pig's belly that was brought me; but who put it in, or for what purpose, I know not, unless it were because he that sent the meat thought I was without a knife. But your lordship need not fear, for I was never without a knife since I came to prison. And touching your own person, you would live long if you should live until I go about to kill you. And I confess by violence your lordship is able to overcome me." Then said the

bishop, "I charge thee to answer to mine articles.' Then a book was held to him, and the bishop proceeded, "Thou shalt swear to answer truly to all such articles as I shall demand of thee." Philpot answered, "I will first know your lordship to be my ordinary, before I swear." "What," says the bishop, "we shall have an anabaptist of you, which thinketh it not lawful to swear before a judge." "My lord," says Philpot, "I think it lawful to swear before a competent judge, being lawfully required. But I refuse to swear in these causes before your lordship, because you are not mine ordinary." The bishop replied, "I am thine ordinary, and here do pronounce by sentence peremptory, that I am thine ordinary. (Here he called in more to bear witness.) And I make thee, (taking one of his servants by the arm,) to be my notary. And now hearken to my articles : " to which (when he had read them,) he admonished him to make answer, and said to the keeper, "Fetch me his fellows, and I shall make them to be witnesses against him."

In the mean time came in one of the sheriffs of London, whom the bishop (calling for two chairs,) placed by him, saying, "Mr. Sheriff, I would you should understand how I proceed against this man. Mr. Sheriff, you shall hear what articles this man doth maintain." He then read a rabblement of feigned articles : That he should deny baptism ; that he denied fasting and prayer, and all other good deeds ; and maintained bare faith to be sufficient to salvation. At this Philpot said, "Ha, my lord, have you nothing of truth to charge me with, but you must feign these blasphemous lies against me ? You might as well have said, I had killed your father. The Scriptures say, 'That God will destroy all men that speak lies.' And is not your lordship ashamed to say before this worshipful gentleman, that I maintain these abominable blasphemies ? Which if I did maintain, I were well worthy to be counted an heretic." The bishop then replied, "I do object them unto thee, to hear what thou wilt say, and how thou canst purge thyself of them." Then said

Philpot, "It was not justly said of your lordship, that I did maintain them, since I hold none of these articles you have read." Then the bishop demanded, "How sayest thou? Wilt thou answer to them or not?" Philpot answered, "I will first know you to be mine ordinary, and that you may lawfully charge me with such things, and then being lawfully called in judgment, I will shew my mind, and not otherwise."

"Well then," says the bishop, "I will make thy fellows to be witnesses herein against thee. Where are they?" says he to the keeper. "They are here, my lord," replied the keeper. "Come hither, sirs," says he, "you shall swear that you will say the truth of all such articles as you shall be demanded of concerning this man here present, who is a very naughty man; and take you heed of him that he doth not deceive you, as I am afraid he doth you much hurt, and strengtheneth you in your errors." The prisoners answered, "My lord, we will not swear, except we know whereto: we can accuse him of no evil; we have been but a small while acquainted with him." Then said Philpot, "I wonder your lordship, knowing the law, will go about, contrary to the same, to have infamous persons to be witnesses; for your lordship takes them to be heretics, and by the law an heretic cannot be a witness." "Yes," says he, "one heretic may be against another. And, Mr. Sheriff, I will make one of them witness against another." The prisoners replied, "No, my lord." "No!" says he. "I will make you swear, whether you will or not. I ween they are anabaptists, Mr. Sheriff, they think it not lawful to swear." "Yes," says Philpot, "we think it lawful for a man to swear, judicially called thereto, but not in a blind corner." "Why then," says the bishop, "seeing you will not swear against your fellow, you shall swear for yourselves; and I do here, in the presence of Mr. Sheriff, object the same articles unto you, as I have done unto him, and do require you to answer particularly unto every one of them before my register and some of my

chaplains." The prisoners replied, "My lord, we will not accuse ourselves; if any man can lay any thing against us, we are ready to answer; otherwise we pray your lordship not to burden us; for some of us are here, we know no just cause why." Then said he, "Mr. Sheriff, I will trouble you no longer with these froward men." And so he rose up, and was going away. And as he went, Philpot said, "Mr. Sheriff, I pray you record how my lord proceedeth against us in corners, without all order of law, having no just cause to lay against us." After this they were all commanded to be put in the stocks, where they sat from morning till night, and the keeper at night, upon favour, let Philpot out.

The Sunday after this the bishop and Philpot had another private conference. Coming into the coal-house by night with the keeper, he viewed the place, and said he was never there before. After supper, between eight and nine o'clock, he sent for Philpot, saying, "Sir, I have a great displeasure of the queen and the council for keeping you so long, and letting you have so much liberty; and besides that, you strengthen the other prisoners in their errors; I will therefore sequester you from them, and you shall do no more hurt, and I will despatch you out of hand, as I am commanded, unless you will conform." Philpot replied, "My lord, you have my body in your custody; you may transport it whither you please; I am content. And I wish you would make quick expedition in my judgment. I long for it. And as for conformity, I am ready to yield to all truth, if any can bring better than I know. But my belief must not hang upon men's sayings, without sure authority of God's word, which if any can shew me, I will be pliant to the same; otherwise I cannot go from my certain faith, to that which is uncertain." The bishop then asked, "Have you then the truth only?" Philpot answered, "My lord, I will speak my mind freely unto you, and upon no malice I bear you before God. You have not the truth, neither are you of the church of God;

but you persecute both the truth and the true church of God; for which cause you cannot prosper long. You see God doth not prosper your doings according to your expectations. He hath of late shewed his just judgment against one of your greatest actors, bishop Gardiner, who died miserably. I envy not your authority. You that have learning, should know best how to rule. And seeing God hath restored you to your dignity again, use the same to God's glory, and to the setting forth of his true religion; otherwise it will not continue, do what you can." At this the bishop was confounded; at length, recovering himself, he replied, "That good man was punished for such as thou art." Then calling the keeper, he commanded that all men should be kept from Philpot, and that he should be narrowly searched.

Afterwards he was led through St. Paul's up to the Lollard's-Tower, and after that turned along all the west side of St. Paul's, through the wall, and passing through six or seven doors, came to his lodgings through many straits; where he called to remembrance, that 'strait is the way to heaven.' It was in a tower right on the other side of Lollard's-Tower, almost as high as the battlements, eight foot broad, and thirteen long, and almost over the prison where he was before, having a window opening towards the east, by which one may look over the tops of a great many houses, but see no man passing into them. When he was come to his place, the keeper plucked off his gown, and searched him very narrowly, and took away his pens, inkhorn, girdle and knife: but he had warning a little before of his removing, and thereupon made an errand to the stool, where, sore against his will, he cast away many a sweet and friendly letter; but what he had written of his last examination before, he thrust into his hose.

After this he was examined the eighth time, before the bishop of London, the bishop of St. David's, Mr. Mor-dant, and others, in the bishop's chapel. Here the bishop

of London objected divers articles against him; which done, he said, "Now, sir, you shall answer but two words, whether you will answer to these articles which I have laid unto you, directly,—yea, or nay." Philpot replied, "My lord, you have told a long tale against me, containing many lying blasphemies, which cannot be answered in two words. Besides this, you promised me at the beginning, that I should say what I could for my defence; and now you will not give me leave to speak. I thank God, I have patience to hear and abide all your cruel intents against me. Notwithstanding, I speak this earnestly, being moved thereto justly, to notify your unjust and cruel dealing with men in corners, without all due order of law." After this, at night, he was conducted again by three or four into the coal-house.

The next day he was called down betimes by his keeper, and brought again into the wardrobe, where he was examined the ninth time before bishop Bonner and his chaplains, upon the sacrifice of the mass. To which his final answer was, "Are you not ashamed to make so many alterations of the Lord's holy institution, as you do, and to take away the substantial parts of the sacrament; as, 'Take ye, eat ye, drink ye all of this: Do ye this in remembrance of me.' And to place in their room, Hear ye, gaze ye, worship ye, offer ye, sacrifice ye for the quick and the dead? If this be not blasphemy to God and his sacraments, to add and pluck away in this sort, and that contrary to the mind of all ancient writers, and contrary to the example of Christ and all his apostles, tell me? To which Mr. Harpsfield replied, "I know you have gathered the sayings of the doctors together, which make for your purpose: I will talk no longer with you." Then said Philpot, "I pray God open our hearts to do more his will than we have done in times past." Then the keeper was called to take him away. The next day, after dinner, he was brought before the bishop and his register, Dr. Chedsey and others, to be examined the tenth time; still

harping upon the same vile string, the mass. But all their noise could neither charm nor affright him from his steadfastness.

Philpot was again examined on St. Andrew's-day, before the bishops of Durham, Chichester, Bath, and London, the prolocutor, Mr. Christopherson, and Dr. Chedsey, Mr. Morgan of Oxford, Mr. Hussey, scribe of the Arches; Dr. Weston, Dr. Harpsfield, archdeacon; Mr. Cosins, and Mr. Johnson, register to the bishop of London, in his palace. The bishop of London began thus, "My lords, I shall desire you to take some pains with this man, he is a gentleman, and I would he should do well." The bishop of Durham said, "Mr. Philpot, will you be of the same Catholic faith and church with us you were baptized in? It is a pity but you should do well." Philpot replied, "I am of the same Catholic faith and Catholic church I was baptized unto; and in that I will live and die." Then said the bishop, "That is well said; if you hold there, you cannot but do well." Then spake Chichester, "Yea, my lord, but he meaneth otherwise than you do. Are you of the same faith your godfathers and godmothers were, or not?" Philpot answered, "I cannot tell what faith they were of certainly; but I am of the faith I was baptized unto, which is the faith of Christ; for I was not baptized in the faith of my godfathers, but in the faith of Christ." Then said my lord of Durham, "How say you; will you believe as we do, and all the learned of the realm, or not; and be of one church with us?" Philpot answered, "My lords, it is not unknown to you, that there have been always two churches." Then said Chichester, "Nay, that is not so: there is but one Catholic church." "I shall desire your lordships," says Philpot, "to take my meaning; for I know there is but one true church: but always from the beginning there hath been joined to the same true church a false church, adversary to the true; and that was declared at the first in Abel and Cain, who persecuted and slew his brother." "I will grant you," says Chichester, "before the coming

of Christ, there were two churches in the old law; but in the new law, since Christ's coming, you cannot shew it to be so." "Yes, my lord," says Philpot, "that I can, if you will give me leave. After Christ had chosen his twelve apostles, was there not a Judas in the new law, and a Simon Magus? and were not they of the false church?" To which my lord of Durham replied, "The church in the Scripture is likened to a great fisher's net, which contained in it both good fishes and bad fishes. I trust you will be of the better sort, and lean to the truth." "My lord," says Philpot, "it is my whole desire now to follow that which is good, whatsoever I have done in times past, and to cleave to God's truth." Then said my lord of Durham, "Do you so, and then you shall do well."

He was then for going, but the bishop of London said, "Nay, my lord of Durham, I must desire your lordship, and my lord of Chichester, to tarry a little while. I have earnest matters to charge this man withal. First, I lay to him here, that he hath written in a Bible, which I took from him, this erroneous saying, 'The Holy Ghost is Christ's vicar on earth.'" Then, turning to Mr. Philpot, he said, "Wilt thou abide by this saying of thine?" He replied, "My lord, it is not my saying; it is the saying of St. Bernard; and a saying that I need not to be ashamed of, neither you to be offended at." Then said Bonner, "To help this, I find moreover written with his own hand, in another book, 'In me, John Philpot, where sin did abound, grace hath superabounded.'" Philpot replied, "My lord, you need not be offended with that saying more than with the other, for it is the saying of St. Paul himself, and I did apply it to myself for my comfort, knowing, that though my sins be huge and great in the sight of God, yet is his mercy and grace above them all." Bonner went on, "Also I lay to thy charge, that thou killedst thy father, and was accursed of thy mother at her death." To which Mr. Philpot answered, "If any of these can be proved, I will promise here to recant at

Paul's-Cross, what you will have me." The bishop of London then proceeded, "My lord, here is a letter which I shall desire your lordship to hear before you go. This man (being in my keeping) hath taken upon him to write letters out of prison, and to pervert a young gentleman, called Mr. Green, in my house, (call him hither,) and hath made a false report of his examination. Art not thou ashamed to write such shameful letters?" Then calling Mr. Green, he said, "Come hither, Mr. Green; did not I shew you this letter?" "Yes, forsooth, my lord, you shewed it me." Then said Bonner, "How think you, my lords, is not this an honest man, to belie me?" Philpot replied, "Your lordship doth mistake all things. This letter (as your lordship may perceive, and all others that have heard the same,) was not written by me, but by a friend of mine, certifying me how Mr. Green sped at the bishop of London's hands." Then said Bonner, "Tell me who wrote it, if you dare." "No, my lord," says Philpot, "it is not my duty to accuse my friend; and especially seeing you will take all things at the worst. Neither shall you know of me who wrote it. Your lordship may see in the end of the letter, that my friend wrote unto me upon the occasion of my appeal, which I have made to the whole parliament-house, about such matters as I am wrongfully troubled for." Then Bonner, turning to the other bishops, said, "My lords, I have used him with much gentleness since he came to me. How sayest thou, (says he to Philpot,) have I not?" Philpot answered, "If to lie in the vilest prison in this town, (being a gentleman, and an archdeacon,) and in a coal-house for five or six weeks, without fire or candle, is to be counted gentleness, I must needs say, I have found gentleness. Never were men so cruelly handled as we are." Then said Bonner, "Lo, what a varlet is this! Besides this, my lords, even yesterday he procured his man to bring a bladder of black powder; I cannot tell for what purpose." Philpot replied, "Your lordship needeth not to mistrust the matter: it is nothing but to

make ink with, as I had it before in the king's-bench, when my keeper took away my inkhorn."

Then Bonner proceeded to accuse him thus: "More than this, my lords, he caused a pig to be roasted, and made a knife to be put between the skin and the flesh, for what purpose judge you. How sayest thou, didst thou not so?" Philpot answered, "There was a pig sent me, and under the same a knife, but for no ill purpose, that I know. It was not to kill myself, nor any other, as you would make men believe. All these are but false surmises, and not worth rehearsal." The bishop went on: "I have here to lay to his charge (chiefest of all,) his book of the Report of the Disputation had in the Convocation-house, which is the rankest heresy that may be against the blessed sacrament of the altar. How say you, Dr. Weston? Did he maintain the same there stubbornly, or not?" Weston answered, "Yes, my lord, that he did, and would never be answered." Again (says Bonner,) "I pray you, my lords, hearken what he writes of himself; I read it over this morning, and made a note of it. He saith, that Dr. Weston called him frantic, and madman, and said, he should go to Bedlam." Philpot answered, "Indeed, my lord, so it pleased Dr. Weston to say; but yet I was no whit the more so, for all his sayings, than Christ was when the scribes and pharisees said he was mad, and that he was possessed of a devil." At this the bishop of Durham, Dr. Weston, Mr. Hussey, and the bishop of Chichester, departed.

Then Mr. Christopherson disputed against him, and after some dispute, he said, "It is but folly to dispute with you, you will believe no man but yourself." Philpot said, "I will believe you, or any other learned man, if you can bring any thing worthy to be believed. You cannot win me with vain words. Before God, there is no truth in you; except the article of the Trinity, you are corrupt in all other things." Then Mr. Morgan took him up: "What say you, do we not believe well on the sacrament?" Philpot answered, "It is the thing which

(amongst all other) you do most abuse." "Wherein, I pray you? tell us," says Morgan. Philpot answered, "To touch but one of the least abuses, you minister it not in both kinds, but keep the one half from the people, contrary to Christ's institution." Then said Christopherson, "Why, is not there as much contained in one kind as in both? And what need is it then to minister in both kinds?" "I believe not so," says Philpot; "for if it had, Christ would have given but one kind only; for he instituted nothing superfluous; and therefore you cannot say that the whole effect of the sacrament is as well in one kind as in both, since the Scripture teacheth otherwise." To this replied Christopherson, "What if I can prove it by Scripture, that we may minister it in one kind? The apostles did so; as it is written that they continued 'in prayers and in breaking of bread;' which is meant of the sacrament." Philpot answered, "Mr. Doctor, do you know that St. Luke, by making mention of breaking of bread, meaneth the whole use of the sacrament, according to the whole institution, by a figure, which you have learned in grammar, *synecdoche*, where part is mentioned, and the whole understood?" Then answered Christopherson again, "Nay, that is not so; for I can shew it you out of Eusebius, that there was a man that sent the sacrament in one kind by a boy, to one that was sick." "If it were so," says Philpot, "doth it follow that all men may do the like? St. Cyprian noteth many abuses of the sacrament in his time, which arose upon singular men's examples, as using of water instead of wine: wherefore he saith, 'Non respiciendum quid aliquis ante nos fecerit, sed quid Christus qui omnium primus ante nos fecerit et mandavit;' that is, 'We must not look what any man hath done before us, but what Christ first of all did and commanded.'"

Then said Morgan, "How say you to the presence of the sacrament? Will you stand to the judgment of your book, or will you recant?" Philpot said, "I know you go about to catch me in words. If you can prove that

book to be of my setting forth, lay it to my charge when I come to judgment. But this I will say to you by the way, that if you can prove the sacrament of the mass (as you now use it,) to be a sacrament, I will then grant you a presence." Morgan cried out, "Ho! do you doubt that it is a sacrament?" "Yea," says Philpot, "I am past doubting, for I believe you can never be able to prove it a sacrament." Then said Christopherson, "Good Lord, doth not St. Augustine call it the sacrament of the altar? How say you to that?" Philpot replied, "That maketh nothing for the probation of your sacrament. For he, with other ancient writers, calls the holy communion so, in respect that it is the sacrament of the sacrifice, which Christ offered upon the altar of the cross, which sacrifice all the altars and sacrifices in the old law did prefigure, which pertaineth nothing to your sacrament hanging upon your altars of lime and stone."

After these things, the bishop gave Mr. Green the book of his disputation in the Convocation-house, and afterwards went aside, communing with Christopherson, leaving Morgan, Harpsfield, and Cosins, to reason with Philpot, in the hearing of Green. Then said Morgan, "Mr. Philpot, I would ask you how old your religion is?" Philpot replied, "It is older than yours by a thousand years, and more." Morgan then asked, "I pray where was it fifty years ago?" Philpot answered, "It was in Germany, apparent by the testimony of Hus, Jerome of Prague, and Wickliffe, whom your generation, an hundred years ago and more, burnt for preaching the truth to you; and before their time, and since hath been, although under persecution." Then said Morgan, "That is a wonder that so many learned men should be deceived." Philpot replied, "It was no wonder with St. Paul; for he saith, 'That not many wise, neither many learned after the world, be called to the knowledge of the gospel.'" Then demanded Morgan, "Have you then alone the Spirit of God, and not we?" Philpot answered, "I say not that I alone have the Spirit of God;

but as many as abide in the true faith of Christ, have the Spirit of God as well as I." "How know you," said Morgan, "that you have the Spirit of God?" Philpot answered, "By the faith of Christ which is in me." "Why then I tell thee, Philpot," says Morgan, "thou art an heretic, and shalt be burned for thine heresy; and afterwards go to hell-fire." "I tell thee," says he, "that I care not this for thy fire and faggots; neither, I thank God my Lord, stand I in fear of the same: my faith in Christ shall overcome them. *But the hell-fire with which thou threatenest me, is *thy* portion, and prepared for *thee*, (unless thou speedily repent,) and for such hypocrites as thou art." Then Harpsfield began, "I have heard you both a good while reason together, and I never heard so stout an heretic as you are, Mr. Philpot." "Nor I," says Cosins, "in all my life." Philpot replied, "You are not able to prove me an heretic, by one jot of God's Word." Then said Harpsfield, "You have the spirit of arrogancy, I will reason with you no more." And so he was departing, and Cosins also.

Then the bishop and Christopherson came in again, and said, "Mr. Doctor, how doth this man and you agree?" Christopherson replied, "My lord, it is but folly to reason with him any further; your lordship will but lose time, for he is incurable." Then the bishop called him aside, and said, "I pray thee, in good sadness, What meanest thou, by writing in the beginning of thy Bible, 'The Spirit is the Vicar of Christ on the earth?' I wist you have some special meaning thereof." Philpot answered, "My lord, I have no other meaning than as I have told you already, that Christ, since his ascension, worketh all things in us by his Spirit, and his Spirit doth dwell in us. I pray you, my lord, let me have my Bible, with other lawful books and writings which you have of mine; many of them are none of mine, but lent me by my friends." "Your Bible," says Bonner, "you shall not have; but I will perhaps let you have another; and after I have perused the rest, you shall have such as I think good."

Then said Philpot, "I pray your lordship, that you would let me have candle-light, for the nights are long, and I would fain employ myself about something, and not spend my time so idly." "Can you not say your Pater-noster," says Bonner, "without a candle? I tell you, Sir, you shall have some meat and drink of me, but candles you get none." Philpot replied, "I had rather have a candle than your meat and drink: but seeing you will not grant my request, the Lord shall be my light." Then said Chedsey, "I am sorry you will so wilfully cast away yourself, whereas you might live worshipfully. Do you not think others have souls to be saved, as well as you have?" Philpot replied, "Every man shall receive according to his works. I am sure you are deceived, and maintain a false religion: and as for my casting away myself, I would my burning-day were to-morrow, for this delay is every day to die, and yet not to be dead." Then said Chedsey, "You are not like to die yet, I can tell you." Philpot replied, "I am the more sorry for it: but the will of God be done, to his glory. Amen."

On Wednesday, the 4th of December, he was examined again, before the bishops of London, Worcester, and Bangor, on nearly the same points; but neither could they bring him to grant them any thing. Wherefore his opponents swore and raged shamefully.

On Thursday, November 5, he was called in the morning before the archbishop of York, the bishops of Chichester, Bath, and London. The bishop of Chichester, being first come, began to talk with him thus: "I am come, of good will, to talk with you, to instruct you what I can to come to the Catholic church, and to will you to instruct your judgment, and to learn of others that are better learned than you." He was answered thus by Philpot, "We must all be taught of God; and I will inform me by God's Word. I confess I have but little learning, in respect of you, that both of your years and great exercise do excel therein; but faith consisteth not only in learning, but in simplicity of believing that which

God's Word teacheth. Therefore I will be glad to hear, both of your lordship and of any other, the true doctrine thereof." Then said Chichester, "You take the first alleged amiss, as though all men should be taught by inspirations, and not learning. How do we believe the Gospel, but by the authority of the church?" Philpot answered, "St. Paul saith, 'He learned not the gospel by men, neither of men, but by the revelation of Jesus Christ.' Which is a plain proof that the gospel taketh not its authority of man, but of God only." "St. Paul speaketh but of his own knowledge, how he came thereto," says Chichester. "Nay," says Philpot, "he speaketh of the gospel generally; 'which cometh not from man, but from God; and the church must only teach that which cometh from God, and not man's precepts.'" Chichester replied, "Doth not St. Augustine say, 'I would not believe the gospel, if the authority of the church did not move me thereto.''" "I grant," said Philpot, "the authority of the church doth move unbelievers to believe; but yet the church giveth not the word its authority; for the word hath its authority only from God, and not of men. For, first, the word hath its being before the church; and the word is the foundation of the church; and the foundation is first sure, before the building thereon can be steadfast." Then said Chichester, "I perceive you mistake me, I speak of the knowledge of the gospel, and not of the authority; by the church we have all knowledge of the gospel." Philpot replied, "I confess that; for faith cometh by hearing, and hearing by the word. And I acknowledge that God appointeth an ordinary means for men to come unto this knowledge."

Here came in the archbishop of York and the bishop of Bath, and after they had saluted one another, and communed a while together, the archbishop of York called him unto them, saying, "Sir, we hearing that you are out of the way, are come of charity to inform you, and to bring you into the true faith, and Catholic church, willing you first to be humble and willing to learn of

your betters, or else we can do no good with you. And God saith, by his prophet, ‘On whom shall I rest, but on the humble and meek, and such as tremble at my word?’” Philpot answered, “I know that humility is the door whereby we enter unto Christ, and I thank his goodness I have entered in at the same unto him, and with all humility will hear whatsoever truth you shall speak unto me.” Then the archbishop of York demanded, “Is the church visible, or invisible?” He replied, “It is both visible and invisible. The invisible church is of the elect of God only; the visible consists both of good and bad.” “The church,” said the archbishop, “is an universal congregation of faithful people in Christ through the world; which this word *Catholic* doth express; for what is catholic? Doth it not signify *universal*?” Philpot answered, “St. Austin saith, ‘The church is therefore called catholic, because it is throughly perfect, and halteth in nothing.’” “Nay,” said York, “it is called Catholic, because it is universally received of all nations.” Philpot replied, “The church was catholic in the apostles’ time, yet was it not universally received; but because their doctrine, which they had received of Christ, was perfect, and appointed to be received of the whole world. “St. Austin, writing against the Donatists, (says York,) proveth the Catholic church by two points,—universality and succession of bishops. Now thus I will make mine argument: The church of Rome is universal, and hath her succession of bishops from time to time: Therefore it is the Catholic church. How answer you to this argument?” He replied, “My lord, I have weighed that argument before now, and I perceive it maketh nothing against me; for I will stand to the trial of St. Austin, for the approbation of the Catholic church, whereof I am. For St. Austin speaketh of universality joined with verity, and of faithful successors of Peter, before corruption came into the church.”

Then Chichester spake, “If you will not have the church to be certain, I pray you, by whom will you be judged in matters of controversies?” Philpot said, “I

do not deny the church to be certain ; but I deny that it is necessarily tied to any place, longer than it abideth in the Word ; and for all controversies, the Word ought to be judge." "But what if I take it one way," says the bishop, "and you another, how then ?" Philpot replied, "St. Austin sheweth a remedy for that, and willeth, 'Quod unus locus per plura intelligi debet ;' That one place of the Scripture ought to be understood by the more." Then York said again, "How answer you to this argument ? Rome hath known succession of bishops, which your church hath not ; therefore that is the Catholic church, and your's is not, because no succession can be proved in your church." Philpot answered, "I deny, my lord, that succession of bishops is an infallible point to know the church by : for there may be a succession of bishops known in a place, and yet there be no church ; as at Antioch and Jerusalem, and in other places, where the apostles abode, as well as at Rome. But if you put to the succession of bishops succession of doctrine withal, (as St. Austin doth,) I will grant it to be a good proof for the Catholic church ; but a local succession only, is nothing available." Then York said, "You will have no church ?" "Yes, my lord," says he, "I acknowledge the catholic church, as I am bound by my creed ; but I cannot acknowledge a false church for the true." "Why, is there two catholic churches, then ?" says Chichester. "No," says he, "there is but one catholic church ; but there have been, and are at this present, that take upon them the name of Christ, and of his church, which are not so indeed ; as it is written, 'There be they that call themselves apostles, and are not so indeed, but the synagogue of Satan and liars.'"

Then said Chichester, "I see, my lords, we do but lose our labours to reason with him ; he accounts himself better learned than we." Philpot replied, "I take upon me the name of no learning. I boast of no knowledge, but of faith in Christ, and that I am bound undoubtedly to know, as I am sure I do." Chichester said, "These

heretics take upon them to be sure of all things they stand in. You should say rather, with humility, I trust I know Christ, than that you be sure thereof." Philpot answered, "Let him doubt of his faith that listeth; God gives me always grace to be sure of true faith and favour in Christ." In the mean time, my lord of York was turning his book for places to help forth his cause. "I have found at length," says he, "a very notable place, which I have looked for all this while, of St. Augustine, *De simplicitate credendi*. I will read it, and so make an end." After he had read the sentence, he said, "that by four special points here, St. Augustine proveth the Catholic church. The first is, By the consent of all nations; the second, By the apostolic see; the third, By universality; and the fourth, By this word, Catholic." Philpot said, "I pray you, my lord, of what church doth St. Augustine write the same, of Rome, or not?" York replied, "Doth he not make mention here of the apostolic see? whereby he meaneth Rome." "That," says Philpot, "is very straitly interpreted, my lord, as though the apostolic see had been no where else but at Rome. But let it be Rome, and yet you shall never verify the same, unless all other conditions do go therewith; whereof none, except the apostolic see, can now be verified of the church of Rome. For the faith which that see now maintaineth hath not the consent of all nations, neither hath had. Besides, it cannot have the name of catholic, because it differeth from the catholic churches which the apostles planted, almost in all things."

Then said the archbishop, "I perceive you are an obstinate man in your opinion, and will not be taught; wherefore it is but lost labour to talk with you any longer; you are a member to be cut off." To which Chichester subjoined, "Thou art as impudent a fellow as I have communed withal." Philpot replied, "That is spoken uncharitably, my lord, to blaspheme him whom you cannot justly reprove." "Why," says Chichester, "thou art not God: blasphemy is counted a rebuke to

God-ward, and not to man." "Yes," says Philpot, "it may be as well spoken of an infamy to man, speaking in God's cause, as you now lay unto me, for speaking freely the truth before God, to maintain your vain religion. You are void of all good ground. I perceive you are blind guides, and leaders of the blind; and therefore (as I am bound to tell you,) very hypocrites, tyrannically persecuting the truth, which otherwise by just order you are by no means able to convince. Your own doctors, and testimonies which you bring, are evidently against you, and yet you will not see the truth." Then Chichester said, "Have we these thanks for our good-will, coming to instruct thee?" Philpot answered, "My lords, you must bear with me, since I speak in Christ's cause, and because his glory is defaced, and his people cruelly and wrongfully slain by you, because they will not consent to the dishonour of God with you; if I told you not your fault, it would be required at my hands in the day of judgment. Therefore know you, ye hypocrites indeed, that it is the Spirit of God that telleth you your sin, and not I: I care not, I thank God, for all your cruelty. God forgive you, and give you grace to repent." Thus they departed.

He was divers other times examined, both openly at St. Paul's, and also secretly in the bishop's house; yet what was there said is not sufficiently known, either because Philpot was not himself suffered to write, or else for that his writings are not brought forth otherwise than as the bishop's register hath noted, from whose handling of such matters little light can be gathered, especially in the behalf of the answerer.

Bishop Bonner having sufficiently taken his pleasure with Mr. Philpot in private talk, and seeing his zealous, learned, and immutable constancy, thought it now high time to rid his hands of him; and therefore on the 14th day of December, sitting judicially in the consistory at St. Paul's, he caused him to be brought thither before him, as it seemeth, more for order's sake, than for any

good affection to justice and right judgment. The bishop then laboured to persuade him to recant; but in vain. So on Monday, December 16, Philpot being there presented before the bishops of London, Bath, Worcester, and Litchfield, spoke thus: "I am sorry to see you sit in the place that you now sit in, pretending to execute justice, and to do nothing less but deceive all men in this realm." Then, turning himself to the people, he said, "Oh, all you gentlemen, beware of these men, (meaning the bishops,) and all their doings, which are contrary unto the primitive church. And I would know of you, my lord, by what authority you proceed against me." "Because I am bishop of London," says he. Philpot replied, "Well, then you are not my bishop, nor have I offended in your diocese. And, moreover, I have appealed from you, and therefore, by your own law, you ought not to proceed against me; especially being brought hither from another place by violence. My lord, is it not enough for you to worry your own sheep, but you must also meddle with other men's?" Then the bishop delivered two books to Philpot, one of the civil, and the other of the canon law; out of which he would have proved that he had authority to proceed against him in such sort as he did. Philpot then perusing the same, said, "I perceive your law and divinity is all one; for you have knowledge in neither of them; and I would you did know your own ignorance; but ye dance in a net, and think no man seeth you." All the bishops then asked him, "With what can you charge us?" Philpot replied, "You are enemies to all truth, and all your doings be nought, full of idolatry, saving the article of the Trinity."

Whilst they were thus debating the matter, there came thither sir William Garret, knight, mayor of London, sir Martin Bowes, knight, and Thomas Leigh, sheriff of the city, and sat down with the bishops in the said consistory; at which time Bonner spake as followeth, "Philpot, among others, I have to charge you specially with three things. First, you have fallen from the unity of Christ's

catholic church. The second is, That you have blasphemously spoken against the sacrifice of the mass, calling it idolatry, and abomination. And thirdly, That you have spoken against the sacrament of the altar, denying the real presence of Christ's body and blood in the same." This being spoken, the bishop recited unto him a certain exhortation in English, promising him mercy, if he would recant. Which being ended, Philpot turned himself to the lord mayor, and said, "I am glad to stand before that authority that hath defended the gospel and truth of God's Word; but I am sorry to see that that authority which representeth the king and queen's persons, should now be at the commandment of antichrist. Ye (speaking to the bishops,) pretend to be the followers of Christ, and yet be the very antichrists and deceivers of the people; and I am glad that God hath given me power to stand here this day, and to declare and defend my faith, which is founded on Christ.

"Therefore, as touching your first objection, I say, that I am of the catholic church; and that your church, the church of Rome, is the Babylonical, and not the catholic church; of that church I am not.—As touching your second objection, which is, that I speak against the mass,—I have not spoken against the true sacrifice; but your sacrifice, daily reiterated, is a blasphemy against Christ's death, and is a lie of your own invention. And that abominable sacrifice which ye set upon the altar, and use in your private masses, instead of the living sacrifice, is idolatry, and ye shall never prove it by God's Word. Thirdly, where you lay to my charge that I deny the body and blood of Christ to be in the sacrament of the altar,—I cannot tell what altar ye mean; whether it be the altar of the cross, or the altar of stone: if ye call it the sacrament of the altar in respect of the altar of stone, then I defy your Christ, for it is a rotten Christ. And as touching your transubstantiation, I utterly deny it, for it was brought up first by a pope. Now, as concerning your offer made from the synod, which is gathered to-

gether in antichrist's name, prove me that to be of the catholic church, and I will follow you, and do as you would have me to do. But ye are idolaters, and daily commit idolatry. •Ye be also traitors; for in your pulpits you rail against good king Henry, and king Edward, which have stood against the usurped power of the bishop of Rome; against whom also I have taken an oath, which if ye can shew me by God's law that I have taken unjustly, I will then yield unto you. But I pray God turn the king and queen's hearts from your synagogue, for you do abuse that good queen."

After this, they had a great conference together, as well out of the Scriptures as out of the doctors. But when Bonner saw that they were not able to confute Philpot, turning himself to the lord mayor, he said, "My lord, this man had a roasted pig brought to him, and this knife was sent him therewith; and also this powder was sent to him; which when I saw, I thought it had been gunpowder, and put fire to it, but it would not burn; then I took it for poison, and so gave it to a dog, but it was not so: then I took a little water, and it made as fair ink as ever I did write withal. Therefore, my lord, you may see what a naughty fellow this is." "Ah, my lord," says Philpot, "have you nothing to charge me with but these trifles, seeing I stand upon life and death? Doth the knife in the pig prove the church of Rome to be the catholic church?"

In the end, Bonner, seeing his unmovable steadfastness in the truth, did pronounce openly the sentence of condemnation against him. And as he was about the midst of the sentence, the bishop of Bath pulled him by the sleeve, and said, "My lord, my lord, know of him first whether he will recant, or not." Then Bonner said, "O, let him alone." And so read out the sentence. When he had done, he delivered him to the sheriffs, and two officers brought him through the bishop's house into Paternoster-Row, and there his servant met him, and when he saw him, he said, "Ah, dear master!" Then

Philpot said to him, "Content thyself, I shall do well enough; for thou shalt see me again." The officers then thrust him away, and had his master to Newgate; and as he went, he said to the people, "Ah, good people, blessed be God for this day." The officers having delivered him to the keeper, his man thrust to go in after his master, whereupon one of the officers said to him, "Hence fellow, what wouldst thou have?" He said, "I would speak with my master." Then Mr. Philpot turned about, and said to him, "To-morrow thou shalt speak with me."

Then the under-keeper suffered his servant to go in with him, and they were together turned into a little chamber. When Alexander the chief keeper came, he greeted him with these words, "Ah! hast thou done well to bring thyself hither?" "Well," said Philpot, "I shall desire you to let me have your favour, for you and I have been of old acquaintance." He said, "If you will recant, I will shew you any pleasure I can." "Nay," says Philpot, "I will never recant, whilst I have my life, that which I have spoken, for it is most certain truth; and in witness hereof, I will seal it with my blood." Then Alexander said, "This is the saying of the whole pack of you heretics." Whereupon he commanded him to be set upon the block, and as many irons put upon his legs as he could bear. Then the clerk told Alexander that Philpot had given his servant money. The servant answered, "He hath given me none; only a token or two to send to his brother and sisters." "Ah," said Alexander to Philpot, "thou art a maintainer of heretics." "Nay," said he, "I send it to my friends. But, good Mr. Alexander, be so much my friend that these irons may be taken off." "Well," said Alexander, "give me my fees, and I will take them off." Then said Philpot, "Sir, what is your fee?" He said, "Four pounds." "Ah," said Philpot, "I have not so much; I am but a poor man, and I have been long in prison." "What wilt thou give me, then, said Alexander?" "Sir," said he, "I

will give you twenty shillings, and that I will send my man for; or else I will send my gown to gage; for the time is not long (I am sure) that I shall be with you; for the bishop said unto me, that I should soon be despatched." Then said Alexander, "What is that to me?" And with that he departed, commanding him to be removed, which was done; but before he could be taken from the block, the clerk would have his fee too.

Then one Witterence, steward of the house, took him on his back and carried him down, his man knew not whither. Wherefore he said to his man, "Go to the sheriff, and tell him how I am used." So his servant went straightway and took an honest man with him. When they came to sheriff Macham, and told him how Philpot was handled in Newgate, he took his ring from his finger, and delivered it to the man that came with Philpot's servant, and bade him go to Alexander the keeper, and command him to take off his irons, and to use him more gently, and to give his man again that which he had taken from him. And when they came again to Alexander, and told their message from the sheriff, Alexander took the ring, and said, "Ah, I perceive that the sheriff is a bearer with him, and all such heretics as he is; therefore to-morrow I will shew it to his betters." Yet at ten o'clock he went into the room where Philpot lay, took off his irons, and returned the things he had taken from his servant.

On Tuesday, the 17th of December, 1555, as they were at supper, there came a messenger from the sheriffs, and bade Philpot make himself ready, for the next day he was to suffer. He answered, "I am ready; God grant me strength and a joyful resurrection." And so he went into his chamber, and poured out his spirit unto the Lord God, giving him most hearty thanks that he had made him worthy to suffer for his truth. About eight o'clock next morning the sheriffs came, and called for him, and he came joyfully down to them. And there his servant met him, and said, "Ah, dear master, farewell." His

master said unto him, "Serve God, and he will help thee." And so he went with the sheriffs to the place of execution ; and when he was entering into Smithfield, the way was foul, and two officers took him up to bear him to the stake. Then he said, merrily, "What, will ye make me a pope? I am content to go to my journey's end on foot." But first coming into Smithfield, he kneeled down there, saying these words, "I will pay my vows in thee, O Smithfield!" And when he was come to the place of suffering, he kissed the stake, and said, "Shall I disdain to suffer at this stake, seeing my Redeemer did not refuse to suffer a most vile death upon the cross for me?" And then he said the 106th, 107th, and 108th psalms : and when he had made an end of all his prayers, he said to the officers, "What have you done for me?" And every one of them declared what they had done, and he gave them money. Then they bound him to the stake, where, in the midst of the flames, he yielded his soul into the hands of God ; and, like a lamb, gave up his breath, his body being consumed to ashes.

THE MARTYRDOM
OF
DR. THOMAS CRANMER,
ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.



THOMAS CRANMER, descended from an ancient family, was born in a village called Arselacton, in Nottinghamshire. He was kept at school from his infancy, and in process of time went to the University of Cambridge, where he took the degree of master of arts, and was chosen a fellow of Jesus College. He afterwards married a gentleman's daughter, and by that means lost his fellowship. He then became reader in Buckingham College. Whilst he continued there, his wife died in child-bed. After her death, the masters and fellows of Jesus College, desirous again of their old companion, for his learning, chose him again fellow of the college. Here he prosecuted his study, and became, in a few years after, reader of divinity lectures in the same college; and was in such special esteem with the whole university, that the degree of doctor of divinity was conferred upon him. He was commonly appointed one of the heads, to examine such as commenced either bachelors or doctors of divinity.

Dr. Cranmer, ever favouring the knowledge of the

Scripture, would never admit any to proceed in divinity, unless they were substantially read in the Bible; by means whereof certain friars, who were principally brought up in the study of school authors, were commonly rejected by him; so that of the religious sort he was much hated, and had in great indignation. And yet, divers of them being thus compelled to study the Scriptures, became afterwards well learned and well affected; insomuch, that when they proceeded to be doctors of divinity, they could not overmuch commend Dr. Cranmer's goodness towards them, who had for a time put them back, to aspire unto better knowledge and perfection.

He was greatly solicited by Dr. Capon to have been one of the fellows in the foundation of cardinal Wolsey's college in Oxford; but he utterly refused. Whilst he continued in Cambridge, the great cause of king Henry the Eighth's divorce came in question. This was many ways, for the space of two or three years, diversly disputed and debated. At length it happened that Dr. Cranmer, by reason that the plague was in Cambridge, resorted to Waltham-Abbey, to one Mr. Cressey's house there. In the mean time, the king came from London to Waltham for a night or two, whilst his household removed to Greenwich; by means whereof, Dr. Stephens, secretary, and Dr. Fox, almoner, lodged in the house of Mr. Cressey. Here all the three doctors met together. Dr. Stephens and Dr. Fox marvelling at Dr. Cranmer's being there, he declared to them the cause; namely, That the plague was in Cambridge. As they were old acquaintance, so the secretary and the almoner well entertained Dr. Cranmer; and minding to understand his opinion concerning the king's cause, they conferred with him thereon. Dr. Cranmer answered, That he could say little to the matter, for that he had not studied it. Notwithstanding (he said,) that, in his opinion, they made more ado in prosecuting the ecclesiastical law than needed. "It were better, as I suppose, (quoth Cranmer,) that the question, Whether a man may marry his brother's

wife, were discussed by the divines, and by the authority of the Word of God, whereby the conscience of the prince might be better satisfied, than thus from year to year to prolong the time ; and that may be as well done in England, in the universities here, as at Rome, or elsewhere, in any foreign nation."

The next day, when the king removed to Greenwich, he called unto him Dr. Stephens and Dr. Fox, saying unto them, "What now, my masters, shall we do in this infinite cause of mine ? I see by it there must be a new commission procured from Rome, and when we shall have an end, God knoweth." Dr. Fox said to the king again, "We trust that there shall be better ways devised for your majesty, than to travel as far as Rome any more." The king being very desirous to understand his meaning, said, "Who hath taken in hand to instruct you any shorter way ?" Doctor Fox replied, "It chanced us to be lodged at Waltham, in Mr. Cressey's house, the other night, where we met with Dr. Cranmer, an old acquaintance, with whom having conference concerning your highness's cause, he thought the next way was, to quiet your majesty's conscience, by trying your highness's question out by the Word of God, and thereupon to proceed to a final sentence." The king said, "Where is this Dr. Cranmer ? Is he still at Waltham ?" They answered, that they left him there. "Marry, (said the king,) I will surely speak with him, and therefore let him be sent for out of hand. I perceive that that man hath the sow by the right ear. And if I had known this device but two years ago, it had been in my way a great piece of money, and had also rid me of much disquietness."

Whereupon Dr. Cranmer was sent for, and being removed from Waltham, a post went for him. But when he came to London, he began to quarrel with his acquaintances, that he by their means was thus troubled and brought thither to be cumbered in a matter he had not studied ; and therefore entreated them that they

would make his excuse in such sort, that he might be despatched away from coming into the king's presence. They promised so to do, but all was in vain ; for the more they endeavoured to excuse Dr. Cranmer's absence, the more the king chid with them, for that they brought him not out of hand to his presence : so that no excuse serving, he was obliged to come to the court unto the king ; whom the prince accepting, demanded his name, and said, " Were you not at Waltham such a time, in the company of my secretary and almoner ? " Dr. Cranmer affirming the same, the king said again, " Had you not conference with them concerning our matter of divorce now in question ? " " That is right true, if it please your highness," quoth Cranmer. " Well, (said the king,) I perceive you have the right scope of this matter. You must understand, that I have been long troubled in conscience, and now I perceive that by this means I might have been long ago relieved. I command you, (all your other affairs set apart,) to see this my cause furthered according to your device, so that I may shortly understand whereunto I may trust. For this I protest, before God and the world, that I seek not to be divorced from the queen, if by any means I might justly be persuaded that this our matrimony were not against the laws of God. I could be right well contented to remain with her, if it would stand with the will and pleasure of Almighty God."

Dr. Cranmer much excusing himself, besought the king to commit the examining this matter by the Word of God, unto the best learned men of both his universities, Cambridge and Oxford. " You say well, (said the king,) and I am well content therewith. But yet nevertheless, I will have you specially to write your mind therein." And so calling the earl of Wiltshire to him, he said, " I pray you, my lord, let Dr. Cranmer have entertainment in your house at Durham-Place for a time, to the intent he may be there quiet to accomplish my request, and let him lack neither books, nor any thing requisite for his

study.” And thus after the king’s departure, Dr. Cranmer went with my lord of Wiltshire to his house, wherein he wrote his mind concerning the king’s question ; adding to the same, besides the authorities of the Scriptures, of general councils, and of ancient writers, also his opinion, which was this, “ That the bishop of Rome had no authority to dispense with the Word of God.” When Cranmer had wrote the book, and committed it to the king, the king said to him, “ Will you abide by this that you have written, before the bishop of Rome ? ” “ That I will do, by God’s grace, (quoth Cranmer,) if your majesty send me thither.” “ Marry, (quoth the king,) I will send you to him in a sure ambassage.” And thus, not only certain learned men were sent abroad, to most universities in Christendom, to dispute the question ; but also the same being by commission disputed by the divines in both universities of Cambridge and Oxford, it was there concluded, “ That no such matrimony was by the Word of God lawful.” Whereupon a solemn ambassage was sent to the bishop of Rome, wherein went the earl of Wiltshire, Dr. Cranmer, Dr. Stokesley, Dr. Carne, Dr. Bennet, and divers other learned men and gentlemen.

When the time came that they should come before the bishop of Rome to declare the cause of their ambassage, the bishop sitting on high in his cloth of state, and in his rich apparel, with his sandals on his feet, offering his foot to be kissed by the ambassadors ; the earl of Wiltshire disdaining thereat, stood still, so that all the rest kept themselves from that idolatry. The bishop after that, without any further ceremony, gave ear to the ambassadors. They offered to prove, That no man ought to marry his brother’s wife ; and that the bishop of Rome ought not to dispense to the contrary. Divers promises were made, and sundry days appointed, wherein the question should have been disputed, and when our part was ready to answer, there appeared no man to dispute in that behalf. So in the end, the bishop making to our ambassadors good countenance, dismissed them without disputing.

Whereupon the earl of Wiltshire and the other commissioners returned home. Dr. Cranmer went to the emperor, to answer such learned men of the emperor's council as could say any thing to the contrary part. Where, amongst the rest, was Cornelius Agrippa, an high officer in the emperor's court, who having private conference with Dr. Cranmer, was so fully satisfied in the matter, that afterwards there was never disputation openly offered to Dr. Cranmer. He had conference with divers learned men of Germany, concerning the said question, who very ambiguously heretofore conceiving the cause, were fully satisfied by him.

Just at this time, Dr. Warham, archbishop of Canterbury, died ; which dignity was immediately given to Dr. Cranmer ; who in the execution of this high office, well answered the rule laid down by St. Paul : First, *A bishop must be faultless, as becometh the minister of God.* To accomplish this precept of the apostle, this worthy man evermore gave himself to continual study, not breaking that order that he in the university used ; that is, by five o'clock in the morning he was at his book, and spent the time in study and prayer till nine ; he then applied himself (if the prince's affairs did not call him away) till dinner-time, to hear suitors, and to despatch such matters as pertained unto his special charge ; committing his temporal affairs unto his officers. So that such things were never impediments either to his study, or to his pastoral charge, which principally consisted in the reformation of corrupt religion, and in setting forth true and sincere doctrine. For the most part, being in commission, he associated himself with learned men for sifting one matter or other, for the profit of the church of England. By means whereof, he was never idle ; besides that, he accounted it needful to bestow one hour of the day in reading over such works and books as daily came from beyond the seas. After dinner, if any suitors were attendant, he would very diligently hear them, and despatch them in such sort, that every man commended his lenity

and gentleness, although the case required that sometimes divers of them were committed by him to prison. That done, he went again to his ordinary study, at which he for the most part stood, and seldom sat ; and there continuing till five o'clock, bestowed that hour in hearing common-prayer, and walking, or using some honest pastime till supper-time. At supper, if he had no appetite, (as many times he would not sup,) yet he would sit down at the table, entertaining the company with such fruitful talk as did much delight the hearers ; so that by this means hospitality was well furnished, and the alms-chest well maintained for the relief of the poor. After supper, he would consume one hour at least in walking, or some other honest pastime, and then again till nine, at one kind of study or other. So that no hour of the day was spent in vain, but the same was so bestowed as tended to the glory of God, the service of the prince, or the profit of the church. Which bestowing of his time procured to him a good report of all men, to be, in respect of other men's conversation, faultless, as it became the minister of God.

Secondly, it is required, *That a bishop should not be stubborn.* With which kind of vice, without great wrong, this archbishop in no wise ought to be charged ; whose nature was such, that none was more gentle, or sooner won to an honest purpose ; especially in such things, wherein by his word, writing, counsel, or deed, he might gratify either gentleman or nobleman, or do good to any mean person, or else relieve the needy and poor. Only in causes pertaining to God or his prince, no man more constant, or more hard to be won ; as his earnest defence in the parliament-house, above three days together, in disputing against the six articles, can testify. And, as touching his stoutness in his prince's cause, the resistance of the duke of Northumberland against him, proved right well his good mind that way. Hence he would not consent to the dissolving of chanteries, till the king came of age, to the intent that they might then better serve to

furnish his royal estate, than to have so great treasure consumed in his nonage. Which his stoutness, joined with such simplicity, was thought, by divers of his council, a thing incredible, especially in such sort to contend with him, who was so accounted in this realm as few or none durst withstand him. So dear to him was the cause of God, and of his prince, that for the one he would not keep his conscience clogged, nor for the other hide his head. Otherwise, his very enemies might easily entreat him ; and such things as he granted, he did without any upbraiding or reward ; so that he was altogether void of the vice of stubbornness, and rather culpable in too much facility and gentleness.

Then followeth, *Not angry*. If overmuch patience be a vice, this man may seem to offend rather on this part, than on the contrary. Few we shall find, in whom the sayings of our Saviour Christ so much prevailed, as with him ; who would not only have a man to forgive his enemies, but also to pray for them ; that lesson never went out of his memory. For it was known that he had many cruel enemies, not for his own deserts, but for his religion's sake. And yet whosoever he was that sought his hurt, either in goods, estimation, or life, and upon conference would seem never so slenderly to relent or excuse himself, he would both forget the offence committed, and also ever afterwards friendly entertain him, and shew such pleasure to him, as by any means possible he might ; in-somuch that it came into a common proverb, " Do my lord of Canterbury an injury, and you may be sure to have him your friend while he liveth." Of which his gentle disposition in abstaining from revenge, amongst many examples, I will repeat one.

An ignorant priest in the north, a kinsman of one Chersey, a grocer, dwelling in London, (being one of those priests that used to study more at the alehouse, than in his chamber, or in his study,) sat on a time with his honest neighbours at an alehouse in his own parish, where was communication in commendation of archbishop

Cranmer. This parson said, "What make you of him ? He was but an hostler, and hath no more learning than the goslings that go yonder on the green." These neighbours, not well bearing these his unseemly words, articulated against him, and sent their complaints to the lord Cromwell, then vicegerent in causes ecclesiastical ; who sent for the priest, and committed him to the Fleet, intending to have him recant his slander at Paul's-Cross. Howbeit my lord Cromwell, having great affairs in hand, forgot his prisoner in the Fleet. So that this Chersey, understanding his kinsman was in the Fleet, for speaking words against my lord of Canterbury, consulted with the priest to make suit, rather unto the archbishop for his deliverance, than to the lord Cromwell. The matter was moved. The archbishop sent for the said Chersey. When he came before him, Chersey declared, that there was a kinsman of his in the Fleet, a priest of the north country, and as I may tell your grace the truth, (quoth Chersey,) a man of small civility, and of less learning. He hath continued in durance above two months, so that this imprisonment consumeth his substance, and will utterly undo him, unless your grace be his good lord. "I know not the man, (said the archbishop,) nor what he hath done, why he should be thus in trouble." Said Chersey again, "He hath offended your grace, as may be perceived by the articles objected against him ;" the copy whereof the said Chersey exhibited to the archbishop, who perusing the same, said, "This is the common talk of all the popish priests in England against me. Surely (said he) I was never made privy to this accusation." Then he sent to the warden of the Fleet, willing him to send the prisoner unto him, with his keeper, in the afternoon.

When the keeper had brought him to Lambeth, the archbishop demanded, what was the cause of his being committed to the Fleet ? The parson answered, Certain malicious parishioners had wrongfully accused him of words which he never spake. Chersey hearing him, said, "Thou dastardly dolt and varlet, is this thy promise, that

thou madest me ? Are there not a great number of thy honest neighbours' hands against thee, to prove thee a liar ? Surely, my lord, (quoth Chersey,) it is pity to do him good. I am sorry I have troubled your grace thus far with him." " Well," said the archbishop unto the parson, " if you have not offended against me, then I have nothing to do with you, but you may go from whence you came." The priest then fell on his knees, and said, " I beseech your grace to forgive me this offence, assuring your grace, that I spoke those words being drunk." " Ah, (said my lord,) this is somewhat, and yet it is no good excuse ; for drunkenness uttereth that which lieth hid in the heart. However, now you are sober, I am content to commune with you. Did you ever see me, or were you ever acquainted with me before this day ?" The priest answered, that never in his life he saw his grace. " Why then, (said the archbishop,) what occasion had you to call me an hostler ? and say, I had not so much learning as the goslings ? If I have no learning, you may now try it ; therefore, I pray you oppose me, either in grammar, or in other liberal sciences ; or, if you are a divine, say somewhat that way." The priest being amazed at his familiar talk, made answer, " I beseech your grace to pardon me. I am altogether unlearned, and understand not the Latin tongue, but very simply. My only study hath been to say my service and mass, fair and deliberate, which I can do as well as any priest in the country, I thank God." " Well, (said the other,) if you will not try me, I will be so bold to try you, and yet as easily as I can, and that only in the history of the Bible : tell me therefore, who was king David's father ?" The priest paused a while, and at last said, " In good faith, my lord, I have forgotten his name." Then said the archbishop, " Pray tell me who was Solomon's father ?" The priest made answer, " Good my lord, bear with me, I am no further seen in the Bible, than is daily read in our service in the church." The archbishop answering, said, " Common reason might

have taught you what an unlikely thing it is, that a prince, having two universities within his realm, of well learned men, and desirous to be resolved of a doubtful question, should send out of his realm an hostler, being a man of no better knowledge than is a gosling, in an embassy to answer all learned men, both in the court of Rome, and the emperor's court. God amend you all, forgive you, and send you better minds." With these words the priest seemed to weep, and desired his grace to pardon his fault, so that by this means he might return to his cure again, and he would recant those his foolish words before his parishioners, and become a new man. Well, (said the archbishop,) so had you need ; and giving him a godly admonition to keep from the alehouse, and to bestow his time in reading the Scriptures, he dismissed him from the Fleet.

It follows, *no striker, no fighter*. From which kind of vice, the nature of this archbishop was so far, as was his doctrine which he professed, and death which he suffered. After the prohibition of these aforesaid vices, succeedeth the mother of all virtues necessarily required of all true Christians, but chiefly of a spiritual prelate, which is,

Not given to filthy lucre. The contrary whereof was so odious unto St. Paul, that he esteemed the same no less than idolatry. How little this prelate was infected with this vice, all people that knew him, as well learned beyond the seas, and on this side, to whom yearly he gave no small sums of money ; as others, both gentlemen, mean men, and poor men, who had in their necessity, that which he could conveniently spare, lend, or make, can well testify. And albeit such was his liberality to all sorts of men, that no man did lack whom he could do for, either in giving or lending ; yet nevertheless such was again his circumspection, that when he was committed by queen Mary to the Tower, he owed no man living a penny, but satisfied every man to the uttermost ; whereas no small sums of money were owing him of divers persons,

which by destroying their bills and obligations, he freely forgave, and suppressed before his attainder. Insomuch, that when he perceived the end of king Edward, he called for his officers, his steward, and others, commanding them in any wise to pay where any penny was owing, which was out of hand despatched. And then he said, "Now I thank God, I am mine own man, and with God's help, able to answer all the world," which some men suppose he might also have avoided, if he would have been counselled by some of his friends. It followeth moreover :

But given to hospitality. So little was this property lacking in him, that some men misliking the same, thought it rather a house of overmuch lavishing. Yet some, on the contrary part, complained of his spare house, much under the state of his revenues. Of which two, the first sort should have considered the causes which moved him to that liberal and large kind of expenses. Wherein were to be considered, the time wherein he served ; which was, when the reformation of religion began. In which time the whole weight of the same most chiefly rested on his hand. During which season, almost for the space of sixteen years together, his house was never unfurnished of a number, both of learned men and commissioners, appointed from time to time, for deciding of ecclesiastical affairs. And thus as he seemed to some over-large and lavishing, more than needed in hospitality ; so on the other side there wanted not some, of whom he was accused to king Henry for too niggardly house-keeping.

Sir Thomas Seymour, knight, of the privy chamber, having a convenient occasion, declared to the king, that my lord of Canterbury did nothing else but sell his woods, and let his leases by great fines, making havoc of all the royalties of the archbishopric, and that only to the intent to gather up treasure for his wife and children, keeping no manner of hospitality. Within a fortnight after, one day his highness going to dinner, said to the said sir Thomas, "Go you out of hand to Lambeth, unto my

lord of Canterbury, and bid him be with me at two o'clock in the afternoon." Sir Thomas straightways went to Lambeth, and as he came to the gate, the porter came out, and conveyed him to the hall, which was thoroughly furnished, both with the household servants and strangers, with four principal tables of officers, as daily it was accustomed to be. When sir Thomas Seymour saw that stately large hall so well set and furnished, being therewith abashed, and somewhat guilty of an untruth told to the king before, he retired back, and would needs have gone to the archbishop of Canterbury by the chapel, and not through the hall. Richard Nevel, gentleman-steward of the household, perceiving that he retired, came unto him, and after gentle entertainment, demanded of him, whether he would speak with my lord, or not? Sir Thomas said, that he must needs do so from the king's highness. Sir, said the steward, you cannot go that way, for the door is fast shut in the dinner-time; and so by gentle means brought him up to my lord's chamber through the hall, who then was at dinner: with whom he dined after he had delivered his message, whose ordinary fare might well beseeem a right honourable personage. When dinner was scarce done, sir Thomas took his leave of my lord, and went again to the court.

So soon as the king saw him, he said to him, "Have you been with my lord of Canterbury?" He answered, "That I have, if it please your majesty, and he will be with your highness straightways." "Dined you not with him?" said the king. "Yes, sir, (said he,) that I have done." And with that word, whether he espied by the king's countenance, or by his words, any thing tending to displeasure, he straightway kneeled down upon his knee, and said, "I beseech your highness to pardon me: I do now well remember, that of late I told your highness a great untruth concerning my lord of Canterbury's house-keeping; but from henceforth I intend never to believe that person which did put that vain tale into my head: for I assure your highness, that I never saw so honourable

a hall set in this realm, (besides your majesty's hall,) in all my life, with better order, and so well furnished in each degree. If I had not seen it myself, I could never have believed it, and himself also so honourably served." "Ah, sir," quoth the king's highness, "have you now espied the truth? I thought you would tell me another tale when you had been there. He was a very varlet that told you that tale; for he spendeth all that he hath in house-keeping. Let no other bishops bestow their revenues worse than my lord of Canterbury doth, then shall you have no cause to complain of their keeping of house."

In this archbishop this moreover is to be noted, touching the relief of the poor, impotent, sick, and such as then came from the wars at Bullen, and other parts beyond the seas, lame, wounded, and destitute: for them he provided, besides his mansion-house at Beckisburn, in Kent, the parsonage barn, well furnished with lodgings for the sick and maimed soldiers. To whom were also appointed the almoner, a physician, and a surgeon to attend them, and to dress and cure such as were not able to resort to their countries, having daily from the bishop's kitchen hot broth and meat; for the common alms of the household were bestowed upon the neighbours. And when any of the impotent recovered and were able to travel, they had convenient money delivered to bear their charges.

Now follow together these virtues, *One that loveth goodness, sober-minded, righteous, holy, and temperate.* As concerning these qualities, the manner of his life, joined with his benign and gentle disposition, testify that he could not be void of these virtues reigning in him, who was so abundantly adorned with the other.

Then concludeth St. Paul with the most excellent virtue of all other to be desired in a prelate. For if this constancy be not in him to this end, that is, *To cleave fast unto the true word of doctrine, that he may be able to exhort with wholesome learning, and to reprove them that speak against it:* if he be void, I say, of these gifts and graces, he is worthy of no commendation, but must seem

a deceiver of the world. Neither shall he deserve the name of a bishop, if either for dread or reward, affection or favour, he do at any time, or in any place, swerve from the truth. In this behalf the constancy of the archbishop shrunk not for any manner of storm. He was many ways tried, but neither favour of his prince, nor fear of his indignation, nor any other worldly respect, could change his purpose, grounded upon that infallible doctrine of the gospel. Notwithstanding, his constant defence of God's truth was ever joined with such meekness toward the king, that he never took offence against him.

After the apprehension of the lord Cromwel, when the adversaries of the gospel thought all things sure now on their side, ten or twelve bishops, and learned men, joined together in commission, came to the archbishop for the establishing of certain articles of our religion, which the papists then thought to win to their purpose against the archbishop. For having now the lord Cromwel fast, they thought all had been safe: as indeed there was no manner of hope that religion reformed should stand one week longer. Of all those commissioners, there was not one left to stay on the archbishop's part; but he alone, against them all, stood in the defence of the truth; and those that he most trusted to, namely, bishop Heath, and bishop Skip, left him in the plain field. Yet God so wrought with the king, that his highness joined with him against the rest, so that the book of articles passing on his side, he won the goal from them all, contrary to all their expectations. After that day, there could neither counsellor, bishop, nor papist, deprive him of the king's favour.

Notwithstanding, not long after that, certain of the council attempted to move the king against him, declaring plainly, that the realm was so infected with heresies and heretics, that it was dangerous for his highness farther to permit it unreformed. The enormity whereof they could not impute to any, so much as to the arch-

bishop of Canterbury, who, by his own preaching, and his chaplains, had filled the whole realm full of divers pernicious heresies. The king would needs know his accusers. They answered, That forasmuch as he was a counsellor, no man durst take upon him to accuse him; but if it would please his highness to commit him to the Tower for a time, there would be accusations and proofs enough against him. The king granted them that they should the next day commit him to the Tower. When night came, the king sent sir Anthony Deny about midnight to Lambeth to the archbishop, willing him forthwith to resort unto him at the court. The archbishop speedily came into the gallery where the king walked, and tarried for him. His highness said, "Ah, my lord of Canterbury, I can tell you news. For divers weighty considerations it is determined by me, and the council, that you to-morrow, at nine o'clock, shall be committed to the Tower, for that you and your chaplains, (as information is given us,) have taught and preached, and thereby sown within the realm such a number of execrable heresies, that it is feared, the whole realm being infected with them, no small contentions and commotions will arise thereby amongst my subjects."

When the king had said his mind, the archbishop kneeled down and said, "I am content, if it please your grace, with all my heart, to go thither at your highness's commandment, and I most humbly thank your majesty that I may come to my trial; for there be those who have many ways slandered me, and now this way I hope to shew myself not worthy of such report." The king perceiving the man's uprightness, joined with such simplicity, said, "O Lord, what manner of man be you! What simplicity is in you! I thought that you would rather have sued to us to have heard you and your accusers together. Do you not know what state you be in with the whole world, and how many great enemies you have? Do you not consider what an easy thing it is to procure three or four false knaves to witness against

you? Think you to have better luck that way than your master, Christ had? I see by it, you will run head-long to your undoing, if I suffer you. Your enemies shall not so prevail against you. Yet, notwithstanding, to-morrow, when the council shall sit, and send for you, resort unto them, and if they do commit you to the Tower, require of them, because you are one of them, that you may have your accusers brought before them without delay; and if no intreaty will serve, then deliver unto them this my ring, and say unto them, If there be no remedy, my lords, but that I must needs go to the Tower, then I appeal to the king's own person by this his token unto you all."

On the morrow, about nine, the council sent a gentleman usher for the archbishop, who, when he came to the council chamber-door, could not be let in; but of purpose was compelled there to wait among the pages, lackies, and serving-men. Dr. Butts, the king's physician, resorting that way, and espying my lord of Canterbury, went to the king, and said, My lord of Canterbury, if it please your grace, is well promoted: for now he is become a lackey, or a serving-man; for yonder he hath stood this half hour at the council chamber-door amongst them. "It is not so, (quoth the king,) I trow: the council hath not so little discretion as to use the metropolitan of the realm in that sort, specially being one of their own number. But let them alone, (says the king,) and we shall hear more soon." Anon the archbishop was called into the council chamber, to whom was alleged as before is rehearsed. The archbishop answered in like sort as the king had advised him; and in the end, when he perceived that no manner of persuasion or intreaty could serve, he delivered them the king's ring, revoking his cause into the king's hands. The whole council being thereat amazed, the earl of Bedford, with a loud voice, confirming his words with a solemn oath, said, "When you first began the matter, my lords, I told you what would come of it. Do you think that the king

will suffer this man's finger to ache? Much more, (I warrant you,) will he defend his life against such babbling varlets. You do but cumber yourselves to hear tales and fables against him." And so upon the receipt of the king's token, they all arose, and carried the king his ring, surrendering that matter into his own hands.

When they were all come into the king's presence, his highness, with a severe countenance, said unto them, "Ah, my lords, I thought I had had wiser men of my council than now I find you. What discretion was this in you, thus to make the primate of the realm, and one of you, thus to wait at the council chamber-door amongst serving-men? You might have considered that he was a counsellor as well as you, and you had no commission of me so to handle him. I was content that you should try him as a counsellor, and not as a mean subject. But now I well perceive that things be done against him maliciously, and if some of you had your minds, you would have tried him to the uttermost. But I do you all to wit, and protest, that if a prince may be beholden unto his subject," (and so, solemnly laying his hand upon his breast, said,) "By the faith I owe to God, I take this man here, my lord of Canterbury, to be of all others, a most faithful subject unto us, and one to whom we are much beholden. Therefore, my lords, take him and well use him, as he is worthy to be, and make no more ado." Upon which every man took the archbishop by the hand, and feigned a reconciliation with him, which he courteously accepted.

All wise men would have thought that it had been mere folly afterwards to have attempted any matter against him; but yet, not long after, sir John Gostwike accused the archbishop openly in the parliament-house, laying to his charge his sermons preached at Sandwich, and his lectures read at Canterbury, containing, he said, manifest heresies. Which accusation came to the king's ear. "Why, (quoth the king,) where dwelleth Gostwike?" As I take it, either in Bedfordshire or Bucking-

hamshire: and hath he so open an ear that he can hear my lord of Canterbury preaching out of Kent? This is very likely! (said the king.) If he had been a Kentishman, there had been something worthy of consideration. As for Gostwike, I know him well enough. Go to him, and tell him, (said the king to one of his privy chamber,) if he go not to my lord of Canterbury, and reconcile himself unto him, I will pull the gosling's feathers so, that hereafter he shall have little lust to slander the metropolitan." When sir John heard these words, there was no need to bid him haste to Lambeth. When he came to the archbishop, he was obliged to disclose unto him the occasion of his unexpected visit, requesting his clemency to be his good lord, or else he was utterly undone. Which suit was soon won at his hand. So the archbishop casting behind him all sir John's acts of ingratitude, went to the king, and obtained for sir John his prince's favour again. And thus the king made a short end of this accusation.

And yet, soon after, it was procured by his ancient enemies, that not only the prebendaries of his church in Canterbury, but also the most famous justices of the peace in the shire, should accuse him. This accusation was delivered to the king by some of the council. When the king had perused the thing, he wrapped it up, and put it in his sleeve; and finding occasion to solace himself upon the Thames, came with his barge, furnished with his musicians, along by Lambeth-bridge, towards Chelsea. The noise of the musicians provoked the archbishop to resort to the bridge to do his duty, and to salute his prince. Whom, when the king perceived to stand on the bridge, he commanded the watermen to draw towards the shore, and so came straight to the bridge. "Ah, my chaplain, (said the king to the archbishop,) come into the barge to me." The archbishop declared to his highness, that he would take his own barge, and wait upon his majesty. "No, (said the king,) you must come into my barge, for I want to talk with you." When the king and the arch-

bishop were placed by themselves, said the king to the archbishop, "I have news out Kent for you, my lord." The archbishop answered, "Good, I hope, if it please your highness." "Marry, (said the king,) they be so good, that I now know the greatest heretic in Kent;" and with that he pulled out of his sleeve the book of articles against both the archbishop and his preachers, and gave it to him, desiring him to peruse the same. When the archbishop had read the articles, it grieved him much. Notwithstanding, he kneeled down to the king, and besought his majesty to grant a commission to whomsoever it pleased his highness, to try out the truth of this accusation. "In very deed, (said the king,) I do so mean; and you yourself shall be chief commissioner, to adjoin to you such two or three more as you shall think good." "Then it will be thought, (says the archbishop,) that it is not indifferent, if it please your grace, that I should be mine own judge." "Well, (said the king,) I will have none other but yourself, and such as you will appoint. Whom will you have with you?" "Whom it shall please your grace to name," says the archbishop. "I will appoint Dr. Belhouse for one; name you the other, (said the king,) meet for that purpose." "My chancellor, Dr. Cox, and Hussey, my register, (said the archbishop,) are men expert to examine such troublesome matters." "Well, (said the king,) let there be a commission made forth, and out of hand get you into Kent, and advertise me of your doings."

They came into Kent, and there they sat about three weeks. But Dr. Cox and Hussey, being friendly unto the papists, handled the matter so, that they would permit nothing material to come to light. This thing being perceived by one of the archbishop's servants, he wrote to Dr. Butts, declaring, that if the king did not send some other to assist my lord, it were not possible that any thing should come to light: and therefore wished that Dr. Lee, or some other, might be sent to the archbishop. Upon these letters, Dr. Lee was sent for to York by the king;

and having the king's mind declared unto him, he resorted straight into Kent; so that on All-hallow even he delivered to the archbishop the king's ring, with a declaration of his highness's pleasure. He appointed the archbishop to name twelve or sixteen of his officers and gentlemen, to whom he gave in commission from the king to search both the chests and chambers of all those that were suspected to be of this confederacy.

These men, thus appointed, went in one hour to the persons' houses; and within four hours afterwards the whole conspiracy was disclosed, by finding of letters, some from the bishop of Winchester; some from Dr. London, at Oxford, and from justices of the shire; with others. So that the first beginning, the proceeding, and what should have been the end of their conspiracy, was now made manifest. Amongst others, came to my lord's hands, two letters, one of the suffragan of Dover, and another of Dr. Barber, a civilian, whom the archbishop continually retained with him, as a counsellor in the law, when need required. These two men being well promoted by the archbishop, he used always in such familiarity, that when the suffragan, (being a prebend of Canterbury,) came to him, he set him at his own table.

When my lord had gotten these their letters, he, on a day, when it chanced the suffragan to come to him to his house at Beckisburn, called to him into his study, the suffragan of Dover, and Dr. Barber, saying, "I must have your advice in a matter." When they were in his study, he said to them, "You twain be men in whom I have had much confidence and trust: you must now give me some good counsel, for I am shamefully abused with one or two, to whom I have shewed all my secrets from time to time, and I did trust them as myself. They have not only disclosed my secrets, but also have taken upon them to accuse me of heresy. I require therefore your advice how I shall behave myself towards them. You are both my friends, and such as I always have used when I needed counsel." "Marry, (quoth Barber,) such

villains were worthy to be hanged out of hand, without any other law." "Hanging were too good, (quoth the suffragan,) and if there lacked one to do execution, I would be hangman myself." At these words, the archbishop cast up his hands to heaven, and said, "O Lord, most merciful God, whom may a man trust now-a-days? There was never man handled as I am; but, O Lord, thou hast evermore defended me, and lent me one great friend and master, (meaning the king,) without whose protection I were not able to stand one day, therefore I praise thy holy name." And with that he pulled out of his bosom their two letters, and said, "Know ye these letters, my masters." They fell down upon their knees, and desired forgiveness; declaring, how they a year before were tempted to do the same; and so weeping and bewailing their doings, besought his grace to pardon them. "Well, (said the gentle archbishop,) God make you both good men: I never deserved this at your hands; but ask, God forgiveness, against whom you have highly offended. If such men as you are not to be trusted, what should I do alive? I perceive now, that there is no fidelity or trust amongst men. I am brought to this point now, that I fear my left hand should accuse my right. I need not much marvel hereat, for our Saviour Christ truly prophesied of such a world to come in the latter days. I beseech him, of his great mercy, to finish that time shortly:" and so departing, he dismissed them both with gentle words, in such sort, that never after appeared in his countenance, or words, any remembrance thereof.

When all those letters were found, they were put into a chest, the king's majesty intending to have perused some of them, and to have punished the principals of the affair. But quickly after ensued a general pardon, and so nothing was done. This was the last push against the archbishop, in king Henry's days; for never after durst any man move matter against him in his time.

In the time of King Henry, it seemed that Cranmer was not rightly persuaded in the right knowledge of the

sacrament. But shortly after, he being more confirmed, by conference with bishop Ridley, took upon him the defence of that whole doctrine, and wrote five books thereon. These bishop Gardiner answered; to whom the archbishop of Canterbury learnedly and copiously replied. Besides these books, divers other things there were also of his doing: as the book of the reformation, the catechism, with the book of Homilies, whereof part was by him contrived, part by his procurement approved and published. Whereunto may be adjoined another writing and confutation of his, against 88 articles by the convocation devised and propounded, but yet not ratified nor received in the reign of king Henry VIII.

Afterwards king Edward falling sick, when he perceived his death was at hand, bequeathed the succession of this realm to the Lady Jane, by the consent of the council and lawyers of the kingdom. To this, when all the nobles and judges had subscribed; they sent for the archbishop, and required him also that he would subscribe. But he, excusing himself, said, That he had sworn to the succession of Mary, as the next heir. The council answered, That they were not ignorant of that, and that they had conscience as well as he. The archbishop answered, That he was judge of no man's conscience, but his own: and therefore, as he would not be prejudicial to others, so he would not commit his conscience unto other men. And as concerning subscription, before he had spoken with the king himself, he utterly refused to do it. The king being inquired of by the archbishop concerning this matter said, That the nobles and lawyers of the realm counselled him unto it. He then, demanding leave of the king, that he might first talk with certain lawyers that were in the court; when they all agreed, that by law of the realm it might be so; returning to the king, with much ado, he subscribed.

When Queen Mary came in, the rest of the nobles, paying fines, were forgiven, the archbishop of Canterbury only excepted. Who, though he desired pardon,

(by means of his friends,) could not obtain it; insomuch that the queen would not once vouchsafe to see him. For as yet the old grudge against the archbishop, for the divorce of her mother, remained hid in the bottom of her heart. Besides this, she remembered the state of religion changed; all which was imputed to the archbishop.

While these things were in doing, a rumour was in all men's mouths, that the archbishop, to curry favour of the queen, had promised to say a dirge mass, after the old custom, for the funeral of king Edward, her brother. And some reported, that he had already said mass at Canterbury. This rumour, Cranmer thinking speedily to stop, gave forth a writing of purgation. Of this divers copies were taken, and some of them coming to the bishops' hands, they sent one to the commissioners, and so Cranmer was commanded to appear before them; and to bring a true inventory of all his goods. That done, a bishop of the queen's council, being one of the said commissioners, after the inventory was received, said, "My lord, there is a bill put forth in your name, wherein you seem to be grieved at the setting up the mass again; we doubt not but you are sorry it is gone abroad." To whom the archbishop answered, "I am sorry that the bill went from me in such sort as it did; for I intended otherwise to have made it in a more large and ample manner, and to have set it on Paul's church-door, and on the doors of all the churches in London, with my own seal joined thereto." And he declared further, That if the queen pleased, he, with Peter Martyr, and some others, would, in open disputation, maintain the doctrine taught in the time of king Edward, against all persons whatsoever. At which words, when they saw the constancy of the man, they dismissed him; affirming, they had no more at present to say unto him, but that shortly he should hear further. So that in the November following, (which was not long after,) he was sent to the

Tower, and soon after condemned of treason. Notwithstanding, the queen, when she could not honestly deny him his pardon, seeing all the rest were discharged; and especially, seeing he, (last of all other,) subscribed to king Edward's request, and that against his own will, released to him his action of treason, and accused him only of heresy; which pleased the archbishop right well, and came to pass as he wished, because the cause was not his own, but Christ's. Thus stood the cause of Cranmer, till at length it was determined by the queen and council, that he should be removed from the Tower to Oxford, there to dispute with the doctors and divines of both universities.

Accordingly, April 10, 1554, he was conveyed thither, with Dr. Ridley and Mr. Latimer, and confined in the common gaol, called Bocardo. On Saturday, April 14, all things being in readiness, and the commissioners, who sat at the disputation of bishop Ridley and Latimer, being met, archbishop Cranmer was first called for, who was presently brought in by a number of bill-men. As soon as the reverend archbishop came before the commissioners, he revered them with much humility. Then the prolocutor, sitting in the midst, in a scarlet gown, began with a short preface in praise of unity, and especially in the church of Christ; declaring withal his bringing up, and taking degrees in Cambridge, and how he was promoted by king Henry, and had been his counsellor, and a catholic man; but of late years had separated himself, by teaching and setting forth erroneous doctrine; and therefore it pleased the queen to send them of the convocation, and other learned men, to bring him to this unity again, if it might be. Then he shewed him how the convocation had agreed upon certain articles, whereunto they willed him to subscribe. The archbishop answered, That he was very glad of unity, forasmuch as it was *the preserver of all commonwealths, as well of the heathen, as of the Christians*. And that he should rejoice

in it, so it were in Christ, and agreeable to his holy word. The prolocutor caused the articles to be read to him, (which were the same that were proposed to Ridley and Latimer,) and asked if he would subscribe to them. The archbishop read them over three or four times, and said, They were all false, and against God's holy word: and therefore he would not agree, he said, in that unity with them. Which done, the prolocutor, first willing him to write his mind on them that night, said moreover, that he should dispute upon them; and caused a copy of the articles to be delivered him, assigning him to answer thereto on the next Monday; and so charged the mayor with him again, to be had to Bocardo. The archbishop was greatly commended of every one for his modesty; insomuch, that some masters of arts were seen to weep for him, who in judgment were contrary to him.

On Sunday, Mr. Harpsfield preached at St. Mary's, at nine o'clock. After the sermon, they all went to dinner to Magdalen College. They supped at Lincoln College with the prolocutor, whither Dr. Cranmer sent his answer upon the articles in writing.

On Monday, the 16th, Mr. Say, and Mr. White, notaries, went about in the morning to the colleges, to get subscriptions to the articles. And about eight o'clock, the prolocutor, with all the doctors and the vice-chancellor, met together at Exeter College, and so they went to the schools: and when the vice-chancellor, the prolocutor, and doctors were placed, Dr. Cranmer came to the answerer's place, the mayor and aldermen sitting by him; and so the disputation was introduced by the prolocutor, with a short prelude. Dr. Chedsey began to argue first, and ere he ceased, the prolocutor spake divers times, Dr. Tresham, Dr. Oglethorpe, Marshall, the vice-chancellor, Pye, Cole, and Harpsfield interrupted, and pressed him with their arguments. Every man said somewhat, as far as the prolocutor would suffer, disorderly, sometimes in Latin, sometimes in English, so

that three or four hours of the time were spent ere the vice-chancellor of Cambridge began. Thus the disputation continued till almost two o'clock. Then were all the arguments written, and delivered into the hand of Mr. Say, register. And the prisoner was taken away by the mayor, and confined again in Bocardo.

On Thursday, April 19, after Dr. Ridley and Mr. Latimer had disputed with the learned men of both universities, Mr. Harpsfield disputed for his form to be made doctor. To which disputation the archbishop of Canterbury was brought forth, and permitted, among the rest, to advance an argument or two. After which Dr. Weston said, "Your wonderfully gentle behaviour and modesty, (good Dr. Cranmer,) is worthy much commendation; and that I may not deprive you of your right and just deserving, I give you most hearty thanks, in my own name, and in the name of all my brethren." At which words all the doctors gently put off their caps.

On Friday, April 20, Dr. Cranmer was brought before the commissioners, who sat in St. Mary's church. The commissioners asked him, What he would do? He replied, That he would stand to what he had said. Then sentence was read over him, That he was no member of the church. And therefore he, his fautors, and patrons, were condemned as heretics. Then the archbishop of Canterbury answered, "From this your judgment and sentence, I appeal to the just judgment of God Almighty, trusting to be present with him in heaven; for whose presence in the altar I am thus condemned." After sentence was pronounced, the archbishop was returned to Bocardo.

On Monday, the 23d of April, Dr. Weston took his journey to London, with the letters certificatory from the university to the queen, by whom the archbishop directed his letters supplicatory to the council. The prolocutor taking these letters, carried them well near half way to London, and then opened them, and seeing the contents thereof, sent them back again, refusing to carry them to the council.

The following is the Epistle sent by the Archbishop to the Council.

“IN right humble wise, sheweth unto your honourable lordships, Thomas Cranmer, late archbishop of Canterbury, beseeching the same to be a means for me unto the queen’s highness for her mercy and pardon. Some of you know by what means I was brought and trained unto the will of our late sovereign lord king Edward VI. and what I spake against the same, wherein I refer me to the reports of your honours and worships. Furthermore, this is to signify unto your lordships, that upon Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday last, were open disputations in Oxford against me, Mr. Ridley, and Mr. Latimer: upon Monday, against me; upon Tuesday, against Dr. Ridley; and upon Wednesday, against Mr. Latimer. How the other two were ordered, I know not; for we were separated, so that none of us knoweth what the other said, nor how they were ordered. But as concerning myself I can report. Dr. Chedsey was appointed to dispute with me, but the disputation was so confused, that I never knew the like; every man bringing forth out what he liked, without order; and such haste was made, that no answer could be suffered to be taken fully to any argument: and in such weighty matters, the disputation must needs be ended in one day, which can scarcely be ended in three months. And when we had answered them, they would not appoint us one day to bring forth proofs, that they might answer us: whereas I myself have more to say than can be well discussed, as I suppose, in twenty days. The means to resolve the truth had been, to have suffered us to answer fully to all they could say; and then they to answer us fully to all that we could say. But why they would not answer us, what other cause can there be, but that either they feared their matter, that they were not able to answer us, or else they made such haste, not to seek the truth, but to condemn us: for in haste we were all three condemned

of heresy. Thus much I thought good to signify unto your lordships, that you may know the indifferent handling of matters, leaving the judgment thereof to your own wisdoms. And I beseech your lordships, to remember me, a poor prisoner, unto the queen's majesty; and I shall pray, as I do daily unto God, for the long preservation of your lordships in all godliness and felicity.

April 23, 1554."

It must here be observed, that the sentence given against the three worthy bishops, Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer, was void in law, so that a new commission was sent from Rome, and a new process framed for the conviction of those reverend and godly men; the commissioners for the execution whereof were Dr. James Brooks, bishop of Gloucester, the pope's sub-delegate; and on the king and queen's behalf, Dr. Martin, and Dr. Story.

Upon the arrival of those commissioners at Oxford, on Thursday, September 12, 1555, a solemn scaffold, ten feet high, was erected for bishop Brooks, (who represented the pope,) in the east end of St. Mary's church. The seat was placed that he might sit under the altar. And on the right hand of the pope's delegate, beneath him, sat Dr. Martin and Dr. Story, the king and queen's commissioners, doctors of the civil law; and under them, other doctors, with the pope's collector. These being placed, the archbishop of Canterbury was sent for. He having intelligence of them that were there, thus ordered himself: He came forth of the prison to St. Mary's church, clothed in a handsome black gown, with his hood on both shoulders, such as doctors of divinity in the university usually wear. After he was come into the church, and saw their order of sitting, he did not put off his cap to any of them, but stood still till he was called. Anon, one of the proctors for the pope called, "Thomas, archbishop of Canterbury, appear here, and make answer to what shall be laid to thy charge; that is, for blasphemy, incontineny, and heresy; and make answer

here to the bishop of Gloucester, representing the pope's person."

Upon this, being brought nearer the scaffold, he first well viewed the place of judgment, and spying where the king and queen's proctors were, putting off his cap, he first humbly bowing his knee to the ground, made reverence to the one, and after to the other. That done, looking the bishop in the face, he put on his bonnet again, making no manner of obedience towards him at all. Whereat the bishop being offended, said unto him, That it might bescem him right well, weighing the authority he represented, to do his duty to him. Dr. Cranmer answered, That he had taken a solemn oath, never to consent to the bishop of Rome's authority in this realm again; and that he had done it advisedly, and meant by God's grace to keep it; and therefore would commit nothing which might argue his consent to the receiving the same; and so he desired him to judge; and that he did it not for any contempt to his person, which he could have been content to have honoured, as well as any of the other, if his commission had come from as good authority as theirs. This he answered both modestly, wisely, and patiently, with his cap on his head, not once bowing or making any reverence. What was done at this sessions we know not farther, than that the archbishop was again sent to prison, where he continued long after the deaths of Ridley and Latimer.

The commissioners being met again in the church of St. Mary, at Oxford, March 12, 1556, Dr. Cranmer was brought before them; and when they perceived that he would not yet move his bonnet, the bishop of Gloucester, (then Dr. Brooks,) made a vehement oration against him. Dr. Martin afterwards did the same. Which being ended, the archbishop said, "Shall I make my answer?" "As you think good, (said Martin,) no man shall hinder you." And here the archbishop, kneeling down on both knees towards the west, said first the Lord's prayer. Then rising up, he recited the articles of the creed. Which

done, he entereth his protestation in form, as followeth :
 “ This I do profess as touching my faith, and make my protestation, which I desire you to note. I will never consent that the bishop of Rome shall have any jurisdiction within this realm.” “ Take a note thereof,” said Story. “ Mark, Mr. Cranmer, (said Martin,) how you answer for yourself. You refuse him, by whose laws you remain in life, being otherwise attainted of high treason, and but a dead man by the laws of the realm.” Cranmer replied, “ I protest before God I was no traitor, but indeed I confessed more at my arraignment than was true.” “ That, (said Martin,) is not to be reasoned at this present. You know you were condemned for a traitor. But proceed to your matter.”

Cranmer : “ I am a subject, I owe my fidelity to the crown. The pope is contrary to the crown. I cannot obey both ; for no man can serve two masters at once. Therefore he that is subject to Rome, and the laws of Rome, is perjured ; for the pope and the judges’ laws are contrary, they are uncertain and confounded. A priest indebted by the laws of the realm shall be sued before a temporal judge ; by the pope’s laws, contrary. The king is head in his own realm ; but the pope claimeth all bishops, priests, and curates. So the pope in every realm hath a realm. By the laws of Rome, the benefice must be given by the bishop ; by the laws of the realm, the patron giveth the benefice. Herein the laws be as contrary as fire and water.

“ The bishop of Rome is contrary to God, and injurious to his laws ; for God commandeth all men to be diligent in the knowledge of his law. The pope doth contrary ; for he willeth the service to be performed in the Latin tongue, which they do not understand. God would have it to be perceived ; the pope will not. As concerning the sacrament, I believe that whoso eat and drink that sacrament, Christ is within them, whole Christ, his nativity, passion, resurrection, and ascension ; but not Christ corporeally, he sitteth in heaven. Christ

commandeth all to drink of the cup; the pope taketh it away from the laymen. Christ saith, that antichrist shall be. And who shall he be? He that advanceth himself above all other creatures. Now if none hath advanced himself after such sort besides the pope, then let him be antichrist. The crown hath nothing to do with the clergy; for if a clerk come before a judge, the judge shall make process against him, but not execute any laws: for if the judge shall put him to execution, then is the king accursed in maintaining his own laws. And therefore I say, that he is neither true to God, nor to the king, that receiveth the pope.

“St. Gregory saith, ‘He that taketh upon him to be head of the universal church, is worse than antichrist. If any man can shew me that it is not against God’s Word to hold his stirrup when he taketh his horse, and kiss his feet, (as kings do,) then will I kiss his feet also.’ And you, for your part, my lord, are perjured; for now you sit judge for the pope, and yet you received your bishopric of the king: and you have taken an oath to be adversary to the realm; for the pope’s laws are contrary to the laws of the realm.”

The bishop of Gloucester replied, “You were the cause that I forsook the pope, and swore that he ought not to be supreme head.” Cranmer answered, “You say not the truth; my predecessor, bishop Warham, gave the supremacy to King Henry VIII. and said that he ought to have it before the bishop of Rome, and that God’s Word would bear him. And upon the same was there sent to both the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, to know what the Word of God would do touching the supremacy; and it was reasoned upon. So at last both the universities agreed, and set their seals, and sent it to king Henry VIII. that he ought to be supreme head, and not the pope. You were doctor of divinity at that time, and your consent was thereunto, as by your hand doth appear. Therefore you misreport me, that I was the cause of your

falling away from the pope; it was yourself." Gloucester said, "We came to examine you, and you, methinks, examine us."

Dr. Story then made a speech against him. And, as soon as he had ended, Dr. Martin began again to dispute with him concerning his breaking his oath to the pope, and denying the pope's supremacy. Furthermore, requiring him to give direct answers to many interrogatories; which he did. And bishop Brooks closed the examination with a second oration, more virulent than the former. After whom Dr. Story said, "Mr. Cranmer, you have made a goodly process concerning your heretical oath made to the king, but you forget your oath made to the apostolic see. As concerning your oath made to the king, if you made it to him only, it took an end by his death, and so it is released; if you made it to his successors, observe, sir, the true successors have the empire, and they will you to dissolve the same, and become a member of Christ's church again." To this the archbishop answered again: but Dr. Story, cutting him short, said, "Hold your peace, sir, and so shall it right well become you, considering that I gave you licence before to say your fancy. Your oath was no oath: for it lacked the three points of an oath, that is, judgment, justice, and truth."

He then called the witnesses; who were Dr. Marshall, commissary, and dean of Christ's church; Dr. Smith, under-commissary; Dr. Tresham, Dr. Croke, Mr. London, Mr. Curtop, Mr. Warde, Mr. Serles. And Dr. Story admonished the archbishop to make his exceptions, if he thought any of the witnesses were to be refused: and he would admit none of them all, being men perjured. For if to swear, (said he,) against the pope were unlawful, they should rather have given their lives than their oaths. But if it were lawful, then they are perjured, to defend him whom they forswore before. Nevertheless, this answer being lightly regarded, he was commanded again to the

place from whence he came. Who, at his departing, like as at his coming, shewed low obedience to Dr. Martin, and to Dr. Story, the queen's commissioners. Then Dr. Story, pointing him to the bishop of Gloucester, said, That he ought rather to give reverence unto him. But the archbishop departing without any obeisance to the bishop, all rose up, and departed every one to his own. And thus brake up the session for that day, about two in the afternoon.

After this, they cited him to appear at Rome within 80 days, to make there his personal answers; which he said, if the king and queen would send him, he would be content to do. But he was still kept in close confinement, notwithstanding he was commanded to appear at Rome.

In the mean time, the pope sent his letter executory unto the king and queen, to degrade and deprive him of his dignity; which thing he did not only before the 80 days were ended, but before 20 days were spent. And although the archbishop was detained in strait prison in Oxford, so that he could not appear; yet, in the end of the 80 days, that worthy martyr was decreed *contumacious*, and, as one that was sturdily, frowardly, and wilfully absent, condemned to death.

This letter or sentence of the pope was dated the 1st day of January, 1556, and was delivered in England about the middle of February. Upon the receipt of which, another session was appointed for the archbishop to appear the 14th of February, before certain commissioners sent down by the queen; the chief whereof was the bishop of Ely, Dr. Thurlby. Concerning whom here is to be noted, that albeit he was not the archbishop's chaplain, yet he was so familiarly acquainted with him, so dearly beloved, so inwardly accepted and advanced by him, (not like a chaplain, but rather a natural brother,) that there was never any thing in the archbishop's house so dear, were it plate, jewel, horse, maps, books, or any thing else, but if Thurlby did ever so little commend

it, the archbishop forthwith, either gave it to him, or sent it after him to his house. And so greatly was the archbishop enamoured with him, that whosoever would obtain any thing of him, commonly made their way by Dr. Thurlby.

With Dr. Thurlby, was joined in the commission, Dr. Bonner ; who, coming to Oxford upon Valentine's-day, as the pope's delegates, with a commission from Rome, commanded the archbishop to come before them in the choir of Christ church, before the high altar, where they began, as the fashion is, to read their commission : wherein was contained, that in the court of Rome all things being examined, both the articles laid to his charge, with the answers made unto them, and witnesses examined on both parts, and council heard as well on the king and queen's behalf, his accusers, as on the behalf of Thomas Cranmer, the party guilty, so that he wanted nothing appertaining to his necessary defence, &c. As this was reading, " O Lord, (said the archbishop,) what lies be these, that I being continually in prison, and never suffered to have council or advocate at home, should produce witness, and appoint my council at Rome? God must needs punish this open and shameful lying." They read on the commission, giving them full authority to proceed to deprivation and degradation, and so upon excommunication to deliver him up to the secular power, without any farther appeal.

When the commission was read, they proceeded to his degradation. First they clothed him with all the vestments of a priest, and then with the robes of a bishop and archbishop, made of canvas and old clouts, with a mitre and pall of the same ; then they put the crosier-staff into his hand. This done, Bonner, who, by the space of many years, had borne no great liking towards him, and now rejoiced to see this day, began to use all his eloquence, making a long oration to the assembly against him ; and that with such scurrility, that the bishop of Ely divers times pulled him by the sleeve to

make an end; and said to him afterwards, when they went to dinner, that he had broken promise with him; for he had intreated him earnestly to use the archbishop with reverence, which he promised to do. After this, they began to degrade him, and first to take his crosier-staff out of his hands, which he held fast, and refused to deliver; and withal, imitating the example of Martin Luther, pulled an appeal out of his sleeve, which he delivered unto them, saying, I appeal to the next general council, and prayed divers of the standers-by by name, to be witnesses, and especially Mr. Curtop. This appeal being put to the bishop of Ely, he said, "My lord, our commission is to proceed against you, without any farther appeal, and therefore we cannot admit it." "Why, (quoth he,) then you do me the more wrong; for my case is not as every private man's case. The matter is between the pope and me *immediately*, and no man ought to be a judge in his own cause." "Well, (quoth the bishop of Ely,) if it may be admitted it shall, and so received it of him. And then he began to persuade the archbishop to consider his state, while there was time to do him good, promising to become a suitor to the king and queen for him; and so protested his love and friendship, heartily weeping, so that for a time he could not go on. After going forward, he earnestly affirmed, That if it had not been the king and queen's commandment, whom he could not deny, no worldly commodity should have made him to have done it; concluding, it was one of the sorrowfullest things that ever happened unto him. The archbishop said, He was very well content withal; and so they proceeded to his degradation; wherein bishop Bonner behaved himself as roughly and unmannerly, as the other bishop was to him soft and gentle. Last of all they stripped him out of his gown into his jacket, and put upon him a poor yeoman beadle's gown, full bare and worn, and a townman's cap on his head; and so delivered him to the secular power. And thus, with great compassion of every man, in this mean gown, he

was carried to prison. There followed a gentleman of Gloucestershire, with the archbishop's gown; who, going into the prison with him, asked him, if he would drink? The archbishop answered, if he had a piece of salt fish, he had a better will to eat; for he had been that day somewhat troubled, and had eaten little; but now that is past, my heart (said he,) is well quieted. Whereupon the gentleman said, he would give him money with all his heart, for he was able to do it. But fearing to be prosecuted, he durst not give him any thing: but gave money to the bailiffs that stood by, and said, if they were good men they would bestow it on him, (for my lord of Canterbury had not one penny in his purse to help him,) and so left him, my lord bidding him earnestly farewell, commending himself to his prayers, and all his friends. That night this gentleman was confined by Bonner, for giving him this money; and but for the help of his friends, he had been sent up to the council.

In this mean time, while the archbishop was remaining in durance, (whom they kept now in prison almost three years,) the divines of Oxford busied themselves all they could about Mr. Cranmer, to have him recant, assaying by all crafty practices and allurements they could devise, how to bring their purpose to pass. To this intent they had him to the dean's house of Christ-church, where he had all things that might draw him from Christ. Mean time, they procured certain men secretly, who, when they could not convince by arguments, would, by intreaty and fair promises, or any other means, allure him to recantation; perceiving otherwise what a great wound they should receive, if the archbishop had stood steadfast in his sentence: and, on the other side, what great profit they should get, if he, as the principal standard-bearer, should be overthrown.

First, they set forth, how acceptable it would be both to the king and queen; and especially how gainful to him, and his soul's health. They added, how the council and noblemen bore him good will. They put him in

hope, that he should not only have his life, but be restored to his ancient dignity, saying, it was but a small matter they required him to do ; only that he would subscribe to a few words with his own hand ; which if he did, there was nothing in the realm that the queen would not easily grant him, whether he would have riches or dignity ; or else, if he had rather live a private life in quiet rest, in whatsoever place he listed. When they made no end of calling and crying upon him, the archbishop, being overcome through their importunity, and his own weakness, at length consented, and signed a recantation. The doctors and prelates, without delay, eagerly caused the same to be printed and sent abroad into the world. Whereunto, for better credit, first was added the name of Thomas Cranmer ; then followed the witnesses of this recantation, Henry Sydal, and friar John de Villa Garcina. All this while Cranmer was in certain assurance of his life, the same having been faithfully promised to him by the doctors. The queen having now gotten a time to revenge her old grief, received his recantation gladly : but of her purpose to put him to death she would nothing relent.

In the mean time, the queen taking secret counsel, how to despatch Cranmer out of the way, (who looked for nothing less than death,) appointed Dr. Cole, and secretly gave him in commandment, that against the 21st of March, he should prepare a sermon for Cranmer ; and so instructing him of her will, sent him away. Soon after, lord Williams, of Thame, and the lord Chandois, sir Thomas Bridges, and sir John Brown, were sent for, with other gentlemen and justices, commanded in the queen's name to be at Oxford on the same day, with their servants and retinue, lest Cranmer's death should cause any tumult.

Dr. Cole having this lesson given him, returned to Oxford ; who, as the day of execution drew near, even the day before, came into the prison to Cranmer, to try whether he abode in the catholic faith, in which he had

before left him. To whom Cranmer answered, That by God's grace he would daily be more and more confirmed in the catholic faith. Cole departing for that time, the next day following repaired to the archbishop again, giving no signification, as yet, of his death. And therefore, in the morning, which was the 21st day of March, the day appointed for Cranmer's execution, the said Cole coming to him, asked him if he had any money. To whom, when he answered that he had none, he delivered him fifteen crowns, to give to whom he would: and so exhorting him to constancy in the faith, departed thence about his business.

The archbishop now began more and more to surmise what they went about. Then, because the day was not far past, and the lords and knights that were looked for, were not yet come, there came to him the Spanish friar, witness of his recantation, bringing a paper with articles, which Cranmer should openly profess in his recantation before the people, earnestly desiring him that he would write the said instrument with his own hand, and sign it with his name: which when he had done, the friar desired he would write another copy thereof, which should remain with him: and that he did also. But yet being not ignorant whereunto their devices tended, and thinking the time was at hand in which he could no longer dissemble, he put in his bosom another paper, which he minded to recite to the people.

About nine o'clock, the lord Williams, sir Thomas Bridges, sir John Brown, and the other justices, with certain other noblemen, that were of the queen's council, came to Oxford, with a great train of waiting-men. Also of the other multitude on every side, (as is wont in such a matter,) was made a great concourse. For first, they of the pope's side were in great hope that day to hear something of Cranmer that should establish their opinion: the other part could not yet think, that he which by continual study and labour for so many years, had set forth the doctrine of the gospel, either would or could now,

in the last act of his life, forsake his part. In this so great frequency and expectation, Cranmer at length came from Bocardo unto St. Mary's church. The mayor went before, next him the aldermen; after them walked Cranmer, between two friars, who, mumbling to themselves certain Psalms, answered one another until they came to the church-door, and there they began the song of Simeon. After they had entered the church, the psalm-saying friars conducted him to his standing, and there left him. There was a stage set over-against the pulpit, of a mean height from the ground, where Cranmer had his standing, waiting until Cole made himself ready for his sermon. The lamentable case and sight of the man, gave a sorrowful spectacle to all Christian eyes that beheld him: he that late was archbishop, metropolitan, and primate of England, and the king's privy counsellor, now in a bare and ragged gown, with an old square cap, exposed to the contempt of all men. In this habit, when he had stood a good space upon the stage, turning to a pillar near adjoining, he lifted up his eyes to heaven, and prayed unto God once or twice, till Dr. Cole began his sermon.

The latter part of his sermon he converted to the archbishop, whom before he was degrading with the character of a traitor, heretic, &c. encouraging him to take his death well, adding withal, That, lest he should carry with him no comfort, immediately after his death, there should be dirges, masses, and funerals for him in all the churches of Oxford. With what great grief Cranmer stood hearing this sermon, the outward shew of his body and countenance did better express, than any man can declare; one while lifting up his hands and eyes unto heaven; and then again for shame letting them down to the earth. A man might have seen the very image of perfect sorrow lively in him expressed. More than twenty several times the tears gushed out abundantly, trickling down his face. Those who were present do testify that they never saw tears flow more plentifully

from a little child, than from him, during the course of the sermon; but especially when he recited his prayer before the people. It is marvellous what pity moved all men's hearts that beheld so heavy a countenance, and such abundance of tears flowing from the eyes of so old and so reverend a dignity.

Cole, after he had ended his sermon, called back the people that were ready to depart to prayers. Brethren, (said he,) lest any man should doubt of this man's earnest conversion and repentance, you shall hear him speak before you. And therefore I pray you, Master Cranmer, that you will now perform what you promised not long ago; namely, that you would openly express the true and undoubted profession of your faith, that you may take away all suspicion from men, by which they may understand that you are a catholic indeed. I will do it, (said the archbishop,) and that with a good will; who rising up, and putting off his cap, began to speak thus unto the people:

“ I desire you, well beloved brethren in the Lord, that you will pray to God for me, to forgive me my sins, which above all men, in number and greatness, I have committed. But among all the rest, there is one offence which most of all at this time doth vex and trouble me; whereof, in process of my talk, you shall hear more.” And then, putting his hand into his bosom, he drew forth his prayer, and kneeling down, said as follows: “ O Father of heaven! O Son of God, Redeemer of the world! O Holy Ghost, Three Persons and one God! have mercy upon me, most wretched caitiff, and miserable sinner. I have offended both against heaven and earth, more than my tongue can express. Whither then may I go, or whither shall I flee? To heaven I may be ashamed to lift up mine eyes; and on earth I find no place of refuge or succour. To thee, therefore, O Lord, do I run: to thee do I humble myself, saying, O Lord, my God, my

sins be great; but yet have mercy upon me, for thy great mercy. The great mystery that God became man, was not wrought for little or few offences. Thou didst not give thy Son, O heavenly Father, unto death for small sins only, but for all the greatest sins of the world, so that the sinner return to thee with his whole heart, as I do at this present. Wherefore have mercy on me, O God, whose property is always to have mercy; have mercy upon me, O Lord, for thy great mercy. I crave nothing for mine own merits, but for thy name's sake, that it might be hallowed thereby, and for thy dear Son Jesus Christ's sake." And then rising, he said, "Every man, good people, desireth at the time of his death, to give some good exhortation that others may remember the same. So I beseech God grant me grace, that I may speak something at this my departing, whereby God may be glorified, and you edified.

"First, It is an heavy cause to see so many dote upon this false world, and be so careful for it, that of the love of God, or the world to come, they seem to care very little or nothing. Therefore this shall be my first exhortation: That you set not your minds upon this glozing world, but upon God, and upon the world to come, and to learn what this lesson meaneth, 'That the love of the world is hatred against God.'

"The second exhortation is: That next under God, you obey your king and queen, willingly and gladly; not for fear of them only, but much more for the fear of God; knowing that they be God's ministers, appointed by God to rule and govern you; and therefore whosoever resisteth them, resisteth the ordinance of God.

"The third exhortation is: That you love altogether like brethren and sisters. For alas! pity it is to see what contention and hatred one Christian man beareth another. I pray you, learn and bear well away this one lesson, To do good unto all men, as much as in you lieth, and to hurt no man, no more than you would hurt your own

natural loving brother or sister. For this you may be sure of, that whosoever hateth any person, and goeth about to hinder or hurt him, without all doubt, God is not with that man, although he think himself never so much in God's favour.

"The fourth exhortation shall be to them that have substance of this world, That they will well consider three sayings of the Scripture. One is of Christ himself, 'It is hard for a rich man to enter into the kingdom of heaven.' A sore saying, and yet spoken of him that knoweth the truth. The second is of St. John, 'He that hath this world's goods, and seeth his brother in need, and shutteth up his mercy from him, how can he say that he loveth God?' The third is of St. James, to the covetous rich man, 'Weep and howl for the misery that shall come upon you: your riches do rot, your clothes be moth-eaten, your gold and silver doth canker and rust, and their rust shall bear witness against you, and consume you like fire.' Let them that be rich, ponder well these three sentences: for if they ever had occasion to shew their charity, they have it now, the poor people being so many, and the victuals so dear.

"And now, forasmuch as I am come to the end of my life, whereupon hangeth all my life past, and all my life to come, either to live with my Master (Christ,) for ever in joy, or else to be in pain for ever with devils; and I see before mine eyes, either heaven ready to receive me, or else hell ready to swallow me up: I shall declare unto you my very faith, without any colour of dissimulation; for now is no time to dissemble, whatsoever I have said or written in times past. First, I believe in God the Father Almighty, maker of heaven and earth. And I believe every article of the catholic faith, every word and sentence taught by our Saviour, Jesus Christ, his apostles and prophets, in the New and Old Testament.

"And now I am come to the great thing, which so much troubleth my conscience, more than any thing that

ever I said or did in my whole life, and that is the setting abroad of a writing contrary to the truth ; which I now here renounce, as things written with my hand, contrary to the truth, which I thought in my heart, and written for fear of death, and that is, all such papers which I have written or signed with my hand since my degradation ; wherein I have written many things untrue. And forasmuch as my hand offended, writing contrary to my heart, my hand shall be first punished ; for when I come to the fire, it shall be first burned. As for the pope, I refuse him, as Christ's enemy and antichrist, with all his false doctrine. And as for the sacrament, I believe as I have taught in my book, which teacheth so true a doctrine of the sacrament, that it shall stand at the last day before the judgment of God."

Here the standers-by were all astonished, and looked one upon another, whose expectations he had so notably deceived. The doctors and monks especially, as soon as they heard these things, began to rage, fret, and fume ; and so much the more, because they could not revenge their grief, for they could now no longer threaten or hurt him. For whereas he must needs die that day, though the papists had been never so well pleased : now being never so much offended with him, yet could he not be twice killed of them. Yet, lest they should say nothing, they ceased not to object unto him, his falsehood and dissimulation. Unto which he answered, " Ah, my masters, do not you take it so. Always since I lived hitherto, I have been a hater of falsehood, and a lover of simplicity, and never before this time have I dissembled ; and in saying this, all the tears that remained in his body appeared in his eyes. And when he began to speak more of the sacrament and the papacy, some of them began to cry out, (and especially Cole,) " Stop the heretic's mouth, and take him away " And then Cranmer, being pulled down from the stage, was led to the fire, accompanied with those friars, vexing and troubling him

most cruelly. "What madness, (said they,) hath brought thee again into this error, by which thou wilt draw innumerable souls with thee into hell?" To whom he answered nothing, but directed all his talk to the people, saving that to one troubling him by the way he spake, and exhorted him to get home to his study, and apply his book diligently, saying, If he did diligently call upon God, by reading more, he should get knowledge.

When he came to the place where bishop Latimer and Ridley were burnt, kneeling down, he prayed to God; and not long tarrying in his prayers, putting off his garments to his shirt, he prepared himself to death. His shirt was made long down to his feet. His feet were bare: likewise his head, when both his caps were off, was so bare, that one hair could not be seen upon it. His beard was long and thick, covering his face with marvellous gravity. Such a countenance moved the hearts of his friends and of his enemies. Then he gave his hand to certain old men, and others that stood by, bidding them farewel. And when he had thought to have done so likewise to the bishop of Ely, he drew back his hand, and refused, saying, It was not lawful to salute heretics, and especially such a one as turned unto the opinions he had forsworn. And if he had known before that he would have done so, he would never have used his company so familiarly; and chid those sergeants and citizens which had not refused to give him their hands.

Then was an iron chain tied about Cranmer, and when they perceived he could not be moved, they commanded the fire to be set unto him. When the wood was kindled, and the fire began to burn near him, stretching out his arm, he put his right hand into the flame, which he held so steadfast and immovable, (saving that once with the same hand he wiped his face,) that all men might see his *hand* burned before his body was touched. And he did so abide the burning of the flame with such constancy

and steadfastness, that standing always in one place, he seemed to move no more than the stake, to which he was bound; his eyes were lifted up to heaven, and oftentimes he cried out, *This unworthy hand!* so long as his voice would suffer him; and often using the words of St. Stephen, 'Lord Jesus receive my spirit!' he gave up the ghost.

AN ACCOUNT OF DIVERS SERVANTS OF CHRIST,

Who escaped burning, by the Death of Queen Mary, and otherwise.

1. RICHARD WHITE and JOHN HUNT being apprehended, and examined by the mayor of Marlborough, were sent to Salisbury, and kept a long time in Lollard's Tower; and at last were brought before bishop Capon, and other commissioners, and there examined of their faith; when they made a stout and zealous profession of the same, from which they could not be removed, either by frown or flatteries; so that at length, at the sessions they were condemned, and, with other malefactors, delivered to sir Anthony Hungerford, the high-sheriff, to be

executed. But the evening after, Mr. Clifford, son-in-law to sir Anthony, came to him, exhorting him in no case to have a hand in the death of those innocent persons. Sir Anthony hearing him, went immediately to justice Brown, to ask his advice, what he should do. Justice Brown told him, that if he had not a writ from above for their execution, he could not answer it; but if he had, he must do his office. The sheriff hearing this, took his horse the next day and went out of town, leaving these men in prison. Dr. Geffery, the chancellor, hearing of his departure, rode after him, and told him, that he had delivered over to his hands, two condemned men; and wondered that he went away before he had executed them, according to his office. "If you have (said he,) a writ to discharge me for burning them, I know what I have to do." Why, (said the chancellor,) did I not give you a writ under my hand for it?" "Well, (replied the sheriff,) that is not sufficient to discharge me: if I have not a writ from the superior powers, I will not burn them for any of you all." Dr. Geffery hearing this, returned home, and presently fell sick upon it. Not long after, came down a writ from above to the under-sheriff, for their execution: but he cast the writ into the fire, saying, "I will not be guilty of the blood of these men." Four days after, the prisoners, (who were confined in a low dark dungeon,) were going to prayer; but on a sudden, (knowing no reason for it,) they both burst out into a great weeping, so that they could not speak a word; and the next morning they understood that just at that time the chancellor died. Presently after, the bishop also died. So that these two holy men continued in prison till queen Mary's death; and by that means it pleased God to deliver them.

2. There was dwelling in Bedfield, in the county of Suffolk, one ELIZABETH LAWSON, aged about 60, who, being apprehended for an heretic, because she would not go to church to hear mass, was cast into a dungeon;

where having lain awhile, she was removed first to Norwich, and then to Bury gaol; and remaining constant in the truth, was at last condemned to be burnt. Then did the high-sheriff take her home with him to his house, and assayed by all means, both fair and foul, to pervert her. But when nothing would prevail, he sent her back to prison; and there she continued almost three years: during which time her son, and many others, were burnt. Whereupon she would often say, "Good Lord, what is the cause that I may not yet come unto thee with others of thy children? Well, good Lord, thy blessed will be done, and not mine." At last queen Mary dying, she was delivered out of prison; and, not long after, resigned her soul to God. This is very observable, that before her imprisonment, she was much troubled with the falling-sickness: but after she was cast into prison, she had not one fit, but was in good health, and enjoyed much comfort in her soul.

3. There was dwelling in the town of Seale, in Kent, one WILLIAM WATTS, who being apprehended by his popish enemies, was carried before the bishops and justices at Tunbridge, who laboured much to withdraw him from the truth. But when they could by no means prevail, they committed him prisoner to the constable, who carried him to an alehouse; where the constable drank so liberally, that at last he fell fast asleep. Watts's wife seeing this, persuaded her husband to go his ways, forasmuch as God had made way for his escape. But William would by no means be persuaded thereunto. Whilst they were reasoning together, a stranger over-hearing them, said to him, "Father, go thy ways, in God's name, and tarry no longer; the Lord hath opened the way for thee." Upon this Watts went his way, and his wife returned to her house at Seale: but while she was telling some friends of her husband's great deliverance, he came in amongst them; which when his wife saw, she was much troubled, and persuaded him by all means to haste away before

search should be made after him. He answered, That he would first eat some meat, and pray with his family ; which accordingly he did ; and then went and hid himself in a holly-bush hard by. No sooner was he gone out of doors, but in came the constable, and many more with him, searching all the house, breaking open chests, and piercing the feather-beds, so that he made much spoil in the house. But it pleased God to hide his servant, and to deliver him from the danger.

4. In London, there was one DABNEY, a painter, who being apprehended by an apparitor, was carried to Bonner ; but when they came thither, they were bid to stand by a while, because the bishop was busy in examining others ; and before he had finished with them, a messenger came in haste, desiring the bishop to prepare himself speedily, for that the general procession tarried for him. Then were all other businesses laid aside ; the bishop and his family hastening away to the procession ; by reason whereof Dabney was left alone. He, seeing this, went down into the court, and there walked up and down in a melancholy posture. The porter seeing him thus to walk alone, and thinking him to be some citizen that came about business, asked him if he would go forth ? “ Yes, (said he,) if you will let me out.” With that the porter opened the wicket, and let him depart. After this, much search was made for him, but the Lord preserved him from the danger.

5. Mr. ALEXANDER WINSHURST, a godly minister, being informed against to Bonner, he sent forth one to apprehend him ; who, after search, meeting with him, took him, and carried him towards the bishop’s house ; and as they went through St. Paul’s church, Mr. Winshurst espied Dr. Chadsey walking there, who having been of his ancient acquaintance in Oxford, he intreated him that, for old acquaintance sake, he would prevail so far, that he might be examined before Dr. Martin, rather than

any other? The doctor in scorn, answered him with the words of Christ, "When thou wast young, thou girdest thyself, and went whither thou wouldst; but being aged, other men shall gird thee, and lead thee whither thou wouldst not." Then he was carried to Story and Cooke, who laboured by all means, both fair and foul, to pervert him; but he carried himself very resolutely before them, not shrinking at all from his former profession. Hereupon they sent him to Cluny's house, in Paternoster-Row, by whom he was to be committed to Lollard's Tower; but the Lord pleased so to order it, that when he came thither, Cluny and his family were very busy, so that he was left alone in his hall; only there was another woman, whose husband was in trouble, about whom she stayed to speak with Cluny. She, seeing Mr. Winshurst stand there, said to him, "Alas, good sir, if you please, you may escape the hands of your enemies, forasmuch as they be all absent that look to you, whereby God hath opened the way for your deliverance." At these words he looked about him, and went out of the doors, walking but a leisurely pace, so that he might have easily been taken again, if any had looked after him: but it was God's will that he should thus escape the fury of his adversaries.

6. There was dwelling at Wimondham, in Norfolk, the lady ANNE KNEEVET, being near 100 years old, who all the time of queen Mary kept herself from the popish church, neither suffered any of their trash to be administered in her house, but had the English service daily performed, which was used in king Edward's days. For this, she and her family were many times threatened that the bishop would visit her ere long: to whom she still answered, "That if his lordship sent word before hand, his entertainment should be accordingly." But God by his merciful Providence so over-awed their hearts, that she lived in safety all that troublesome time: yea, though there were sometimes present at her service great enemies

to the truth, and such as had authority ; yet coming in, they would kneel down amongst the rest at prayer, and had no power to trouble her for the same. This good lady was much given to hospitality, and entertained in her house many of the persecuted members of Jesus Christ ; and though they were never so poor, they were looked upon by her as friends, and not suffered to depart without meat and money.

7. Not long before queen Mary's death, the city of Calais, in France, which had been 211 years in the possession of the English, was taken by the bloody duke of Guise, who put multitudes of persons, of all ages and sexes, to the sword. At which time there were many godly persons in that town ; and the Lord, whose Providence always watches over his people, so ordered it, that few or none at all of those perished in that terrible massacre. And amongst others that escaped, after a wonderful manner, there was one JOHN THORPE and his wife, who lying sick at the same time, were cast out into the fields, in a hopeless and helpless condition. Also a young infant that sucked the mother, was taken in the fields, and carried away by the soldiers ; yet, behold the admirable Providence of God ! They were fetched by strangers to a place almost a mile off : and being recovered, the next day as they travelled towards England, they happened to go to the same inn, where they found their young child, and so came all over in safety.

8. In the second year of the reign of queen Mary, there was one EDWARD BENNET, dwelling at Queenhithe, who was desired to carry a New Testament to a man that was a prisoner in Newgate. But as he went in, the keeper discovered it, and thereupon carried him before Cholmley, the recorder, who, after examination, committed him to the Compter in Wood Street, where he continued 25 weeks. Then Dr. Story coming to examine other prisoners, Bennet looking out at a grate, desired

him to be good to him, and to help him out of prison. "Yea, (said Story,) thou hast been with me before, and dost not believe in the sacrament, and therefore I will help thee out." And so he took him, and delivered him to Cluny, to be put into the bishop's coal-house, and there he lay in the stocks for a week. Then Bonner sent for him and examined him, and finding him constant in the truth, sent him back again, saying, That shortly he should go to Fulham. Afterwards they sent Dr. Cranmer's recantation to him, hoping thereby to draw him to recant: but he answered, That his faith was not founded upon any man's books, but upon His that had redeemed him. Two or three days after, he, with five more, were sent for to the bishop's chapel to mass; at the end whereof, those five were returned to prison, and afterwards burned: but Bennet being behind, and walking towards the gate, the porter opened it for company to go out, and so Bennet going out amongst them, escaped.

Afterwards he being amongst those that were apprehended at Islington, Bennet, with seven more, were left behind; yet he went after the rest to the bishop's house, and knocked at the gate to come in: the porter said he was none of the company. "Yes, (said he,) but I am," and knocked again: but the porter not opening the door, one that stood by said, "Edward, thou hast done well; do not tempt God; go thy way;" and so he taking this warning as sent from God, departed, and escaped the danger.

9. There was living in Kent, one THOMAS WOOD, a baker, who being convened before Dr. Kenall, chancellor, Dr. Chadsey, and some others, at his appearing, they asked him, Why he came not to church, and whether he had received the blessed sacrament of the altar? He answered, That he had not, neither durst receive it as they prescribed. Kenall said, "Thou heretic, what is the reason thou darest not receive it?" Wood answered,

“There are three causes why I dare not do it. 1. Because ye eat and drink up all alone; whereas Christ saith, ‘Eat ye, drink ye all of this,’ &c. 2. Because ye hold it up to be worshipped, contrary to God’s command, ‘Thou shalt not bow down nor worship,’ &c. 3. Because ye administer it in a strange tongue, contrary to St. Paul’s rule.” Kenall replied, “Thou heretic, are not these words plain enough, ‘This is my body?’ Wilt thou deny the Scripture?” Wood said, “I will not deny the Scripture, God forbid; Christ saith, ‘I am a vine; I am a door; the rock is Christ.’ All which are figurative speeches, wherein one thing is spoken, and another thing is understood.”

“These heretics,” answered Kenall, “will not learn: art thou wiser than the queen and her council, and all the learned men of the realm?” “St. Paul,” replied Wood, “says, ‘The wisdom of the wise is foolishness before God:’ and, ‘If a man will be wise, he must become a fool.’” “Dost thou not believe,” said Kenall, “that after the priest hath spoken these words, ‘This is my body,’ that there remains no more bread and wine, but that flesh and blood of Christ that hung upon the cross?” Wood answered, “I pray you, master chancellor, give me leave to ask you another question: When God commanded Ezekiel to cut off his hair, and to burn a third part in the fire, ‘And this, (saith he,) is Jerusalem.’ I pray you, was it hair that was burnt, or Jerusalem?” “It signified Jerusalem,” says Kenall. “Even so,” said Wood, “those words of Christ, ‘This is my body,’ are to be understood.”

Chadsey now interposed, and said, “I will prove that Christ is here present under the form of bread and wine, but not in quantity and quality.” “Yes,” says Kenall, “he is here present in quantity and quality.” Chadsey said, “He is here present under a form, but not in quantity and quality.” “Yes,” said the one, “No,” said the other. Whereupon the contention grew so hot

between the doctors, that they foamed again ; and Dr. Kenall in a great rage rose up and departed out of the church. Then said Wood, " Behold, good people, they would have us to believe, that which they do not believe themselves, nor can agree upon." This caused the people to give a great shout ; and T. Wood walked away, no man hindering.

10. There was one THOMAS SPRAT, sometime a servant to Mr. Brent, a justice in Kent, who, because his master was a cruel persecutor of the truth, left his service, and went to Calais, from whence he often used to come into England, together with one William Porrege, about their necessary affairs. About the 4th year of queen Mary, it fell out that they, landing at Dover, were travelling on foot towards Sandwich ; and, as they were upon the way, they met with Mr. Brent, and the two Blachendens, with their servants, being ten or twelve horsemen ; Thomas Sprat, espying Mr. Brent, was much dismayed, saying to his friend, " Yonder is Mr. Brent ! the Lord deliver us out of his hands ! But, seeing there is no remedy, let us go forwards ;" and so shadowing his face with his cloak, they went on. Mr. Brent heeded them not ; but one of his servants, looking better upon them, said to his master, " Yonder goes Thomas Sprat ;" at which words they all stopped their horses, and called to Thomas Sprat to come to them. " They call you," said William Porrege, " and therefore there is no remedy but we must be taken ;" and thereupon persuaded him to go to them, for that there was no means of escaping, themselves being on foot upon those plain downs, and the others on horseback : yet Sprat would not go. Whereupon they called him again ; and Mr. Brent said, " Ah, sirrah, why come you not when you are called ?" His companion likewise still moved him to go, seeing there was no way for him to flee away. " No," said Sprat, " I will not go to them ;" and withal ran away. They seeing that,

set spurs to their horses, and rode after him ; but before they overtook him, he gat to an hedge, and made shift to scramble through it, yet they were so near him, that they struck at him with their swords : and although they vehemently pursued him, he was delivered by the favour of a steep hill, which they could not ride down ; and so escaped into a wood. His companion they released.

A
SUPPLEMENT
TO
MR. FOX'S
ACTS AND MONUMENTS
OF THE
CHRISTIAN MARTYRS.

EXTRACTED FROM
MR. SAMUEL CLARK'S
GENERAL MARTYROLOGY

CHRISTIAN READER.

THOU hast here presented to thy view that strange sight, which astonished Moses, (Exod. iii. 3,) *a bush burning with fire, and not consumed*. A lively emblem of the church, oft times all on a flame with the fire of persecution; and yet, so far from being consumed, that *the blood of the martyrs proves the seed of the church*. And indeed she is the only and true salamander that can live in the fire. Yet this not by any strength of her own, but because the Angel of the Covenant, even the Lord Jesus Christ, is in the bush; either to slack the fire, or to strengthen the bush, and make it incombustible. In this book thou mayest see, as in a mirror, what hath been the portion of the people of God, from the creation hitherto, viz. *through many tribulations to enter into the kingdom of heaven*. Here thou hast a certain and infallible mark of the true church of Christ, viz. to be hated and persecuted by the devil and his instruments. Here thou mayest see what is the constant concomitant of the gospel, when it is received in the love and power of it, viz. persecution, according to that of the apostle, Ye

became followers of us, and of the Lord, having received the Word in much affliction. Neither yet is God an hard master in dealing thus with his faithful servants. He knows that when afflictions hang heaviest, corrupt affections hang loosest upon his children. Yet doth not the Lord *afflict willingly, nor grieve the children of men, to crush under his feet all the prisoners of the earth*; but he will hereby try who are his in deed and truth; not in name and profession only.

One thing is very remarkable in this history, that before any great persecution befel the church, the holy men of those times observed there was some great decay of zeal, and of the power of godliness; or some contentions and quarrels amongst the people of God; or some sin or other, that provoked God against them; and then God let loose the persecutors upon his own children, to bring them in unto him: which done, he not only restrains their rage, but casts the rod into the fire. *If judgment begin at the house of God, what shall the end of them be that obey not the gospel of God?* Much excellent use may be made of this history: as teaching us,

1. That whosoever will take Christ, must take his cross, as well as his crown; his sufferings, as well as his salvation.

2. That God's children are like stars, that shine brightest in the darkest night: like the palm-tree, which proves the better for pressing. Yea, God knoweth that we are best when we are worst; and live holiest when we die fastest; and therefore he frames his dealing to our disposition, seeking rather to profit than to please us.

3. That when God exposeth us to persecution, he expects our speedy and thorough reformation, if we desire the affliction to be removed. For, as it were to

no purpose for the finer to put his gold into the fire, except it lie there till it be refined; so it were to small purpose for God to lay afflictions on us, if he should remove them before we were bettered thereby. Whereas afflictions, like Lot's angels, will soon depart, when they have accomplished their errand.

4. That we should with patience submit to the afflicting hand of the all-wise God, saying, with the church, *I will bear the indignation of the Lord, because I have sinned against him*: considering also that impatience under affliction, makes it much more grievous. As a man in a fever, by tossing and tumbling, exasperates the disease, and increaseth his own grief.

5. That *all that will live godly in Christ Jesus must suffer persecution*. It hath been the portion of all the saints, from the creation hitherto. *What son is there whom the Father chasteneth not?* One Son indeed God had without sin, but not without sorrow; for though Christ, his natural Son, was without corruption, yet not without correction; though he was without crime, yet not without a scourge. *And if they did these things to the green tree, what shall be done to the dry?* And behold the wonderful wisdom of God herein! Who, by these afflictions, separates the sin that he hates, from the son that he loves; and keeps him, by these thorns, from breaking over into Satan's pastures; that would fat him indeed, but only to the slaughter.

Thine in the Lord,

SAMUEL CLARK.

THE PERSECUTION
OF
THE WALDENSES,

Which began in the Year 1660.



WHEN the darkness of popery had overspread the Christian world, so that kings and princes employed their authority to establish the Romish idolatry, appointing to slaughter such as denied transubstantiation, adoration of the host, bowing the knees before it, &c.; this occasioned many Christians to detest this superstition, as unknown to the apostles and primitive church. And first of all, God raised up Berengarius, presently after the year 1000, who boldly and faithfully preached the truth, till about the time that William the Conqueror came into England. Whereupon the gospellers were called Berengarians, till about the year 1110. At which time, notice being taken of their separation from the church of Rome, they were branded with the name of heretics. Twenty years after, when they were grown into a multitude, they had one Peter Bruis for their most famous preacher, who taught long and publicly at Thoulouse, under the protection of earl Hildephonsus. Whereupon they were called Petro-Brusians. Peter Bruis, in the year 1120, published their tenets in a book, wherein

he declared both the ground of their doctrine, and the causes of their separation from the Romish church.

Twenty years after this, they were grown into a mighty multitude, about the year 1140, whereupon the pope of Rome stirred up his most learned followers to write against them ; and warned princes to banish them out of their territories.

In the year 1147, they had Henry of Thoulouse for their most eminent preacher, whereupon they began to be called Henricians. And because they were well read in the Scriptures, especially in the epistles of St. Paul, whom by way of eminency, they called *The Apostle*, they were called Apostolicks. Shortly after, God raised up Peter Valdo, a citizen of Lyons, in France, who shewed himself most courageous in opposing the popish inventions. He was the more eagerly hearkened unto, because he was in high esteem for his learning and piety, and his liberality to the poor. Besides the nourishing of the bodies of men, he also fed their souls, by exhorting them to seek Jesus Christ, and salvation by him. The archbishop of Lyons being informed that Valdo not only used thus to instruct the people ; but also boldly taxed the vices, luxury, and pride of the pope and his clergy, forbade him the same, on pain of excommunication. Valdo replied, " That he could not be silent in a cause of so great importance, as the salvation of men's souls ; wherein he must obey God, rather than man." Then the archbishop sought to have him apprehended, but could not effect it ; for Valdo had many friends, and was generally beloved, wherefore he continued, (though closely,) in Lyons, three years.

Pope Alexander III. at length cursed Valdo, and his adherents ; commanding the archbishop to proceed against them, to their utter extirpation ; whereupon they were wholly chased out of Lyons. His followers were then called Waldenses, who afterwards spread themselves into divers countries. The chief opinions of the Waldenses, ye have seen in the former part of this work.

Valdo himself went into Dauphiny, conversing in the mountains of the same province with certain rude persons, yet capable of receiving the truth. His disciples also spread into Picardy, whence they were called Picards. Against whom afterwards king Philip took arms, overthrew 300 gentlemen's houses, and destroyed some walled towns; pursuing them into Flanders, whither they fled, and causing many of them there to be burnt to death. This persecution caused many of them to flee into Germany and Alsatia, where they spread their doctrine. Shortly after, the bishops of Mayence and Strasburgh raised up a great persecution against them, causing 35 burgesses of Mayence to be burnt in one fire, and 18 in another. At Strasburgh 80 were burnt, at the instance of the bishop. Yet multitudes of people received such edification by the exhortations, constancy, and patience of the martyrs, that in the year 1315, in the county of Passau, and about Bohemia, there were above 80,000 persons that made profession of the same faith.

In the year 1660, some of them came into England, and were punished at Oxford in the most barbarous manner. Three years after, in the council of Tours, in France, pope Alexander III. made a decree, That these Gospellers, and all their favourers, should be excommunicated; and that none should sell them any thing, or buy any thing of them, according as it was prophesied, Rev xiii. 17. But notwithstanding all these devices, they had goodly churches in Bulgary, Croatia, Dalmatia, and Hungary. The popish monks, to make them odious, and to have the better occasion to persecute them, raised up many foul slanders of them, as, that they were sorcerers, sodomites, and the like. That they assembled themselves in the night-time; and that the pastors commanded the lights to be put out, saying, "Catch who catch can." They charged them also with many foul and false opinions. From which accusations, they, by a publick apology, cleared themselves; which they published both in French, and their own language.

Reinerus, the monk, says of them, That "amongst all those which have risen up against the church of Rome, the Waldenses were the most dangerous, in regard of their long continuance: for some say, this sect hath continued from the time of pope Sylvester, and some say, from the apostles' time. And because this sect is more general, and there is scarce any country in which it has not taken footing; and because it hath a great appearance of piety; (for they carry themselves uprightly before men, and believe rightly touching God in all things, holding all the articles of the creed; only they hate and revile the church of Rome;) and therefore, (saith he,) they are easily believed by the people."

Valdo, notwithstanding all the curses of the pope, continued to publish, That the pope was antichrist, the mass an abomination, the host an idol, and purgatory a fable. Whereupon pope Innocent III. in the year 1198, seeing the other remedies were not sufficient to suppress these heretics, authorised certain monks, inquisitors, to apprehend and deliver them to the secular power. By this means the people were delivered by thousands into the magistrates' hands, and by them to the executioners; whereby, in a few years, all Christendom was moved with compassion, to see all those burnt and hanged, that did trust only in Christ for salvation.

The pope seeing that this suppressed not, but rather increased the number of his enemies, sent certain bishops and monks to preach in those places of the Waldenses; but their preaching converted not any of them from their former opinions. Amongst those monks was Dominic, a zealous persecutor of the saints of God, both in word and deed; who seeing himself to be in authority, instituted an order of begging monks, called after his name Dominicans; which order was confirmed by the pope, for their zealous assisting him against the Waldenses. Dominic laboured in the inquisition with such contentment to the popes, that from that time forward, the monks of his order have always been employed in the inquisition.

The power of these inquisitors was without limitation; they could assemble the people by the sound of a bell, when they pleased; proceed against the bishops themselves; imprison and release without control; any accusation was sufficient with them; a sorcerer, a whore was a sufficient witness in the case of pretended heresy. It mattered not who accused, or whether by word of mouth, or ticket thrown in before the inquisitor; for process was thereby framed without party, without witness, or without other law, than the pleasure of the inquisitors. To be rich, was a crime near to heresy; and he that had any thing to lose, was in the way to be undone, either as an heretic, or as a favourer of them: yea, bare suspicion stopped the mouths of parents, kinsfolk, and friends, that they durst not intercede each for the other. If any did but convey a cup of cold water, or a pad of straw to them that lay in stinking dungeons, he was condemned, and brought to the same or worse extremities. No advocate durst undertake the defence of his nearest kinsman or friend. No notary durst receive any act in his favour; yea, death itself made not an end of their punishment, for sometimes they passed sentence against the bones of the dead, to burn them, it may be thirty years after the death of the party accused. Such as were heirs had nothing certain; for if their fathers or kindred were accused, they durst not undertake the defence of their own right, without the crime or suspicion of heresy. The greatest and richest amongst the people were constrained even to adore these monks inquisitors, and to give them great sums for the building of their convents, for fear of being accused of heresy. And the better to keep the people in awe, these inquisitors would sometimes lead in triumph their prisoners in procession; enjoining some of them to whip themselves; others to go in their shirts barefoot and bare-headed, having a withe about their necks, and a torch in their hands, for the greater terror to the beholders. Some of the accused were sent into the holy land, or enrolled for some other expedition

against the Turks. In the mean time the fathers inquisitors took possession of their houses and goods; and when they returned home, they must not inquire, whether these monks had, in their absence, lain with their wives, lest they should be condemned as apostates.

In the year 1201, a knight that was one of these Waldenses, called Enraudus, whom Henry, earl of Nivers, had made governor of his land, was accused of heresy, and brought before the pope's legate, who called a council at Paris against him, consisting of the archbishops, bishops, and ministers of Paris, who condemned him for an heretic, and so delivered him to the secular power, by whom he was burned.

In October, 1207, in the town of Mont-Royal, near Carcasson, in the earldom of Thoulouse, there was held a famous disputation, between Didacus, a Spaniard, friar Dominic, Peter, of the New Castle, the pope's legate, and Ralph, his colleague, on the one part, and Arnold Hot, pastor of the Albigenses, with some other of his fellow-labourers, on the other part. The arbitrators were two noblemen, named Bernard de Villa Nova, and Pernail, of Arras; and two plebeians, named Raymond Godius, and Arnold Riberia. The questions disputed upon were these: First, That the church of Rome is not the spouse of Christ, nor an holy church; but an impure one. Secondly, That their ecclesiastical polity is not good, nor holy, nor established by Jesus Christ. Thirdly, That mass, as it is celebrated therein, was not instituted by Christ, or his apostles. The bishop undertook to prove the contrary: but after three days' disputation, he desired fifteen days to commit his arguments to writing; and Arnold Hot required eight days to put in his answer.

At the day appointed, the bishop brought in a very long writing; and Hot desired to answer by word of mouth, entreating his auditors, That he might not seem troublesome to them, if he were long in answering so long a discourse. And it was granted, that he should be heard with patience, without interruption; and so he discoursed

several hours, for four days together, to the great admiration of all that heard him. And so ready was he therein, that all the bishops, abbots, monks, and priests, wished themselves elsewhere. For he framed his answer to each point in order, as it was set down in the writing, and that with such plainness and perspicuity, that he gave all that were present to understand, that the bishop, though he had written much, yet he had concluded nothing to the advantage of the church of Rome. Then Arnold requested, That forasmuch as the bishops and himself, in the beginning of the conference, were bound to prove whatsoever they affirmed by the Word of God only; it might now be imposed upon the bishops and priests, to make good their mass as they sing it, part by part, to have been instituted by the Son of God, and so used by the apostles. But the bishops were not able to prove this; whereupon they were much ashamed. Arnold proceeded to prove, That it was not instituted by Christ, or his apostles. "For (said he) if the mass were the holy supper, instituted by our Saviour, there would remain after the consecration, that which was in the supper of our Lord, viz. bread. But in the mass there is no bread: for by transubstantiation the bread is vanished; therefore the mass is not the holy supper of the Lord." The bishops, legates, monks, and priests, having nothing to answer to these things, retired, and dissolved the assembly.

Between the years 1176, the time when the inquisition was first erected, to the year 1228, there was so great a havoc made of poor Christians, that the archbishops of Aix, Arles, and Narbonne, being assembled at the request of the said inquisitors, to confer with them about divers difficulties in the execution of their offices, had compassion of the great number that were accused and cast into prison, saying, "We hear that you have apprehended such a multitude of the Waldenses, that it is not only impossible to defray the charge of their food, but to provide lime and stone to build prisons for them; we there-

fore advise you to forbear this rigour, till the pope be advertised, and direct what he will have done in this case." Yet notwithstanding all this cruelty, there was, in the year 1260, above 800,000 persons that made profession of the faith of the Waldenses.

Besides the churches that they had in Valentinois, where their faith was propagated from the father to the son ; their religion spread also beyond the Alps, into the valley of Pragela, within the jurisdiction of the archbishop of Turin, from whence were peopled the Waldensian valleys of Piedmont, La Perouse, S. Martin, Angrogne, &c. This valley of Pragela was one of the safest retiring places that the Waldenses had, being environed on all sides with mountains almost inaccessible, into the caves whereof they retired in the times of persecution. And although they were weakened on all sides, environed with enemies, and in danger of being apprehended, if they looked but out of their doors ; yet, there never was any worldly respect that had power to alter their holy resolution, from the father to the son, to serve God ; taking his Word for the rule of their faith, and his law for the rule of their obedience. Yea, no sooner were the infants weaned from their mothers' breasts, but their parents took care to instruct them in the Christian faith. Their pastors also did not only preach to them on the Sabbath-days, but went in the week-days, to instruct them in the villages and hamlets, not sparing themselves for the roughness of the rocks, the coldness of the air, and the cragginess of the country.

But whilst they thus busily sought the advancement of God's glory, and their own salvation, the devil raised up a persecution against them, in the year 1380, by a monk inquisitor, called Francis Boralli, who had a commission to inquire after the Waldenses in Aix, Arles, Ambrun, Vienne, Geneva, Ambone, Savoy, the Venetian country, the principality of Orange, the city of Avignon, &c. which commission he received from pope Clement VII. This monk cited to appear at Ambrun, all the inhabitants of Frassiniera, Argentire, and the valley Pute, upon pain

of excommunication : but they appeared not, whereupon they were condemned of contumacy, and excommunicated. And for the space of thirteen years, as he caught any of them, he delivered them up to the secular power to be burnt at Grenoble : the number of whom was 150 men, divers women, with many of their sons and daughters, besides about 80 persons of Argentré. The inquisitors adjudged to themselves two parts of all their goods, and the third part to the temporal powers. They forbade all their neighbours also to assist, receive, visit, or defend them, or to converse with them in any sort, upon pain of being punished as heretics.

The Waldenses of the valley of Pragela, in the year 1400, were assaulted by their enemies, on the side of Susa, in Piedmont : but most of their assaults proved in vain, because they retired into the mountains, hiding themselves in the caves thereof, from whence they much endamaged those that came to assail them. Their enemies seeing this, came upon them in the depth of winter, when those people never suspected it, all the mountains being covered with snow : thereupon they retired into the highest mountain of all the Alps, together with their wives and children ; the mothers carrying some in their cradles, and leading others by the hand ; yet the enemy followed them till night, and slew many before they could recover the mountain ; and they which were so slain had the better bargain : for night coming on, these poor people being in the snow, without any means to make a fire for their infants, many of them were benumbed, and in the morning above 80 of them were frozen to death in their cradles, and most of their mothers died also ; besides divers others were giving up the last gasp. The enemies lay all night in these people's houses, which they ransacked and pillaged, and so returned to Susa ; but by the way they met with a poor Waldensian woman, whom they hanged upon a tree, and so departed.

The Waldenses of the valley of Frassinietre were greatly persecuted by the archbishop of Ambrun, in the year

1460, who made a monk, called John Vayletti, his commissioner against them; which monk proceeded with such diligence and violence, that scarce any person could escape his hands, but that he was either apprehended for an heretic, or a favourer of them; whereby many papists suffered among the rest. This caused them to petition king Lewis XI. of France, to stay the course of that persecution. The king thereupon wrote his letter to the governor of Dauphiny, signifying, That whereas the inquisitors had daily sent forth their process, against many poor people in those parts, without reasonable cause; putting some to the rack, and condemning them for matters whereof they were never guilty, and which they could not prove by any witness; and of others they had exacted great sums of money, and had divers ways unjustly vexed and molested them: He therefore decreed, That for the time to come, all such process should be void, and of none effect.

Yet the archbishop did not cease to persecute them to the uttermost of his power, so that he caused most of them to flee away; only James Pateneri stood to it, averring before the court, that he was unjustly vexed, contrary to the king's letters; demanding a copy of the proceedings, that he might right himself by law. The archbishop thereupon left him, and fell upon those that wanted the like courage, citing the consuls of Frassiniere, to answer for themselves, and all the inhabitants of their valley. But they refused, saying, That they had nothing to say before the archbishop, seeing their cause was now depending before the king and his council; protesting against the archbishop's power, and demanding a copy of the king's letter: but the archbishop, notwithstanding this protestation, sent them to the fire, without any other indictment. However, shortly after, the archbishop died, and so ended this persecution, in 1487.

In the year 1488, pope Innocent VIII. sent Albert de Capitaneis, archdeacon of Cremona, against these Waldenses, who craved aid of the king's lieutenant of

Dauphiny. The lieutenant levied troops for his service, and at the archdeacon's request, led them against the Waldenses, in the valley of Loyse, and to colour his proceedings, took a counsellor of the court along with him. But when they came to the valley, they found no inhabitants; for they were all retired into their caves, in the high mountains, having carried their little children, and all their provision of food with them. Then did the lieutenant cause much wood to be laid to the mouth of the caves, and set it on fire, so that some were choked with smoke; others burnt with the fire; others cast themselves headlong from the rocks, and were dashed to pieces; and if any stirred out, they were presently slain by the soldiers. There were found within the caves, 400 infants stifled in their cradles, or in the arms of their dead mothers; and in all there perished above 3000 men and women; so that there were no inhabitants left in all that valley. And to prevent the coming of any more of them thither, the lieutenant gave all their goods and possessions to whom he pleased. Then he marched against them of Pragela and Frassiniera, but they, providing for their own safety, attended him at the passages and narrow straits of their vallies, so that he was forced to retire.

After a while, Albert de Capitaneis, being called to another place, he substituted a Franciscan, named Francis Ploieri, who in 1489, began anew to inform against the Waldenses of Frassiniera, citing them to appear before him at Ambrun, and for non-appearing, he excommunicated them, and condemned them for heretics, to be delivered to the secular power, and their goods to be confiscated. This persecution grew exceeding hot, the inquisitor and counsellor sending as many as they could catch to the fire, without admitting any appeal; and if any interceded for them, though the father for the child, or the child for the father, he was presently committed to prison, and indicted as a favourer of heretics.

In the year 1500, the president of Provence made a

speech to the assembly of estates to root out these Waldenses : whereupon they raised an army for effecting of it. But as soon as the men were in arms, it pleased God, by the death of king Francis, to put an end to that design, whereby the Waldensian churches in Dauphiny enjoyed peace, and were well furnished with godly pastors, who held them in the exercise of religion, though they were in continual danger of being persecuted to death.

The Waldenses in Dauphiny, many years before this, being multiplied, so that the country could not feed them, dispersed themselves abroad into divers parts. Of these some went into Piedmont, who lived in great love with those of Dauphiny ; and though they were always oppressed, yet with hearty love and charity they ever succoured one another ; not sparing their lives and goods for their mutual conversation.

The first persecution in Piedmont was occasioned by the priests, who complained to the archbishop of Turin, that these people lived not according to the manner and belief of the church of Rome ; that they offered not for the dead, cared not for masses, absolutions, or to get any of theirs out of the pains of purgatory. Hereupon the archbishop persecuted them, complaining of them to their prince, to make them odious. But the prince inquiring of their neighbours, heard they were of a good conversation, fearing God, without deceit or malice, loving plain dealing, and always ready to serve their prince. He therefore purposed not to molest them. But the priests ever and anon catching one or other of them, they delivered them to the inquisitors, and the inquisitors to the executioners ; so that there was scarce a town or city in Piedmont, where some of them had not been put to death.

The monks inquisitors daily sent out processes against them, and when they could apprehend any of them, delivered them over to the secular power. This persecution lasted to the year 1532, at which time the Waldenses ordered, That their exercises of religion should be per-

formed no more in covert, as formerly they had been ; but in publick, that every one might know them ; and that their pastors should preach the gospel openly, not fearing any persecution that might happen unto them. The prince being advertised hereof, was highly offended with them, and thereupon caused one of his commanders to haste with his troops into the said valleys, which was performed with such diligence, that he was entered with 500 horse and foot, before they were aware, ransacking, plundering, and wasting all before them. Then the Waldenses left their ploughs, putting themselves into passes, and with their slings charged their enemies with such a multitude of stones, that they were constrained to flee, and abandon their prey, many remaining dead upon the ground. This news was presently carried to the prince, and withal he was told, that these people were not to be subdued with arms, they knowing better the straits of their country, than the assailants ; and that the skin of one of the Waldenses would cost him the lives of a dozen of his other subjects ; whereupon he used arms no more against them, but when any of them were caught in Piedmont, he put them to death.

But shortly after, there happened wars between king Francis I. and the princes of Piedmont, which, through God's grace, turned to the great peace of these people ; which peace continued till pope Paul III. solicited the parliament of Turin to persecute them as heretics. Whereupon the parliament caused a great number of them to be burnt at Turin. Then these Waldenses petitioned the king, that they might not be persecuted for their religion, in which they and their ancestors had lived for many hundred years. But the king rejected their petition, commanding them to live according to the laws of the Romish church ; adding, That he did not burn the Lutherans through his whole kingdom of France, to let them amongst the Alps escape. Hereupon the parliament of Turin commanded them presently to send away all their ministers, and receive the priests to sing mass.

To which they answered, that they could not receive any such commands, it being contrary to God's Word. But through God's mercy, the king had other employment elsewhere, whereby they wanted leisure to persecute those servants of Christ, and therefore they only proceeded by the inquisition, receiving such as the monks condemned to the fire.

In the year 1555, they increased the persecution, condemning to the fire Bartholomew Hector, a stationer, to be executed at Turin; who died with admirable constancy, and so edified the spectators, that they wept and compassioned him, justifying him, and praying for him. At the year's end, the king commanded the parliament to cause them to do that by force, which they would not be brought to by words. But the protestant princes of Germany hearing of this, interceded in their behalf to Henry II. of France; who promised to have regard to their request; and indeed they enjoyed peace afterwards, till the peace was concluded betwixt the kings of France and Spain; and the duke of Savoy was restored to his estate, which was in the year 1559.

The year after, the pope's nuncio reproved the duke, for that, with all his power, he had not persecuted the Waldenses; and that if he did not now endeavour to reduce them to the Romish church, or to root them out, his holiness should have cause to suspect he was a favourer of them. Hereupon the duke presently commanded them to go to mass, upon the pain of their lives: but they not obeying him, he set upon them by open force; and yet at the same time caused them to be pursued by the monks inquisitors; so that a great persecution was raised against the poor Christians. Some were taken and burnt, who shewed invincible constancy in all their torments. But to recite all the outrages, cruelties, and villainies practised against them, would be too tedious. Many fled, and their houses and goods were ransacked and spoiled. One of their ministers was apprehended, and put to a cruel death; but he shewed such admirable

patience therein, as astonished his very adversaries : some also were taken and sent to be galley-slaves ; yet some, through weakness, yielded to the adversaries, and were more cruelly handled than those that remained constant in the truth. The monks also of Pignerol vexed the churches near them grievously ; some they took prisoners, and kept them in their abbeyes. Then they assembled a company of ruffians, sending them to spoil the churches, and to take prisoners, men, women, and children. The wonderful manner wherein they were at length delivered has been related at large in the preceding part of this work.

THE PERSECUTION

OF

THE WALDENSES,

IN CALABRIA.



IN the year 1370, the Waldenses of Pragela and Dauphiny grew so numerous, that they sent their younger people to seek some other country to inhabit. In their travel, they found in Calabria, some waste and untilled lands ; yet fertile, fit for corn, wine, oil, and chesnuts, and the hills were fit for cattle, and to furnish them with fuel and timber. They came therefore to the lords of those places, to treat with them touching their abode there. The lords received them lovingly, agreed about rents, penalties, &c. and so assigned to them certain

parts of the country. Then they returned to their parents, shewing how it fared with them, and so received what they pleased to bestow upon them; and many of them marrying, they returned into Calabria, where they built some towns and cities.

The lords of those countries thought themselves happy in that they had met with such good subjects as peopled their waste lands, and made them to abound with all manner of fruits; but principally because they were honest men, and of good conscience, yielding all those duties and honours which they could expect from good subjects. Only the priests complained of them, that they made not their children priests and nuns; loved not masses; adorned not their churches with images; nor went on pilgrimage. Hereupon the lords feared, if the pope should take notice that so near his seat there were people that contemned his laws, they might chance to lose their subjects: they therefore perswaded the priests to be silent, since in other things they shewed themselves honest men, and enriched the country; yea, and the priests themselves, by their tythes. These lords also stopped the mouths of their neighbours, who exceedingly murmured, because by no means they could draw them into alliance with them; and because all that they had prospered exceedingly. They were wise and temperate, not given to drinking, dancing, swearing, though living in a country where the inhabitants were given to all manner of wickedness.

Thus they were preserved in peace by their lords, till the year 1560. At which time these Waldenses, resolving to make a publick profession of their religion, sent for two ministers from Geneva. Pope Pius IV. hearing of this, presently concluded upon their utter ruin, giving the same in charge to cardinal Alexandrino, a violent man, who chose two monks inquisitors, of his own humour, and sent them, first to begin with the inhabitants of St. Xist. There they assembled the people, gave them good words, promising that they should receive no vio-

lence, if they would accept such teachers as the bishops should appoint; but if they refused, they would lose their lives, goods, and honours, and would be condemned for heretics: and further to prove them, they appointed a mass to be sung; but the people, with their wives and children, presently quitted their houses, and fled into the woods.

From thence the monks went to La Garde, where they caused the town gates to be locked, and the people to be assembled, telling them, that they of St. Xist had abjured their religion, and gone to mass, and that if they would do the like, no man should injure them. These poor people, believing what was told them, were content to do what they would have them; but when they heard that their friends of St. Xist refused to go to mass, and were fled into the woods, they were exceedingly grieved, and resolved, with their wives and children, to go to their brethren. In the mean time, the monks sent two companies of soldiers after them of St. Xist, who ran after them as after wild beasts, crying, "Kill! kill!" and so slew divers. Such as could get to the top of the mountain, called to the soldiers, beseeching them to have pity on them, their wives, and children; and that if they would not suffer them to continue in their habitations, at least they would license them to depart, either by sea or land, whither the Lord would be pleased to conduct them; beseeching them also, for God's sake, not to force them to defend themselves. This more enraged the soldiers, who presently assailed them. Then they so defended themselves that, by God's assistance, they slew the greatest part of the soldiers, and put the rest to flight. Hereupon the inquisitors wrote to the viceroy of Naples speedily to send some companies of soldiers to apprehend the heretics of St. Xist and La Garde, whereby he should do a work very pleasing to the pope, and meritorious for himself.


The viceroy proclaimed through all Naples, that all such banished persons as would come to fight against the

heretics of St. Xist, should be pardoned all their offences. Whereupon great numbers resorted to him, and were conducted to the woods, where they chased these poor people, slaying some, and wounding others: the rest fled into caves, where most of them died of famine. Then were they of La Garde cited before the inquisitor, and many fair promises were made them, if they would appear; but, contrary thereunto, thirty of them were apprehended, and put to the rack. One Charlin was racked with such violence, that his bowels broke out of his belly; and all to extort from him a confession, that in the night, the candles being put out, they committed whoredom, and abominable incest; yet would he never confess any such wickedness. Another was stripped stark naked, whipt with rods of iron, drawn through the streets, and burnt with fire-brands. One of his sons was killed with knives. Another was thrown down from a high tower, because he would not kiss a crucifix. Another was condemned to be burnt alive; and as he went to the fire, he threw to the ground a crucifix, which the executioner had fastened to his hands; whereupon they covered him all over with pitch, and so burnt him.

The inquisitor, Panza, cut the throats of eighty, as butchers do their sheep; then, causing them to be divided into four quarters, he set up stakes for the space of thirty miles, and appointed a quarter to be fastened to every stake. Four of the principal men of La Garde he caused to be hanged. Another young man, because he would not confess himself to a priest, was thrown from an high tower. The viceroy passing by him before he was dead, and hearing him implore God's mercy, kicked him on the head, saying, "Is this dog yet living? Take him and cast him to the hogs." Sixty women were racked so violently, that the cords pierced into their arms and legs; and being then cast into prison, they died there: only nine of the handsomest, being delivered to the fathers of the inquisition, were never heard of after. Many others were delivered to the secular power to be burnt; and if any

interceded for them, he was presently put to the rack as a favourer of heretics. Then pope Pius IV. sent the marquis of Butiane, promising that, if he would wholly clear Calabria of the Waldenses, he would make his son a cardinal. But he was put to no great pains to do it, for the inquisitors, and the viceroy of Naples, had, by sundry deaths, killed all the men, women, and children.

THE PERSECUTION OF THE ALBIGENSES.



THE Albigenes were the same with the Waldenses, differing only in name, from their habitation in the country of Albi. Divers of Valdo's disciples going into this country, and amongst them one Arnold, (from whence they were called Arnoldists,) laboured with such good success, that in a short time there was scarce any found that would go to mass. Pope Alexander III. was much moved to anger hereby, and therefore he condemned them for heretics, in the council of Lateran. Yet did they so multiply, that in 1200, they possessed many great cities; yea, they had many great lords that took part with them, as earl Remund of Tholouse, Remund, earl of Foix, the viscount of Beziers, and others. Pope Innocent III. pretended a great desire to reclaim them by preaching and conference; and thereupon there was a famous disputation at Montreal, wherein the popish doctors were

shamefully baffled by Arnold. But the pope's policy was thus to rock them asleep, whilst he raised armies against them to destroy them; the pretended occasion whereof was this: There was one friar Peter that was slain in the dominions of the earl of Tholouse; whereupon the pope sent preachers abroad, through all Europe, to assemble men together to take vengeance on the heretics, for the innocent blood of friar Peter, slain amongst them; promising Paradise to all that would come to this war, and bear arms for forty days. This he called *The holy war*; and gave the same pardons and indulgences to those that came to this war, as those that went to the Holy Land against the Saracens.

Then he thundered against earl Remund, charging all archbishops and bishops through their diocese, to pronounce him accursed and excommunicated; and that with the sound of a bell, and extinction of candles, every Sabbath and festival day, for murdering a good servant of God. He also absolved all his subjects from their oath of allegiance; commanding every good Catholic to pursue his person, and to take and possess his land. He also wrote to all Christian princes to stir them up to get this pardon rather by fighting against these Albigenses, than by going against the Turks. Earl Remund, hearing of all these preparations against him, sent to the pope, humbly beseeching him not to condemn him before he was heard; assuring him, that he was no way guilty of the death of friar Peter, but that he was slain by a gentleman, who immediately fled out of his country, otherwise he would have severely punished him for it. But all was in vain; for presently came armies of crossed soldiers, to pour down their vengeance on him and his lands.

The earl of Tholouse perceived that he must either prepare for defence, or submit; the latter he thought the safer, and therefore he went presently to the pope's legate at Valence, to whom he began to say, That he thought it strange that so many armed men should be brought against him, who used no other arms for his

defence than his own innocency. And that concerning the death of the friar, they should first have inquired the truth of the fact, before they thus moved heaven and earth against him; yea, if he had been guilty, yet there was an ordinary course of justice to be used against him, and not to wreak their anger on his innocent subjects. "And therefore, Sir," said he, "since I come voluntarily to you, armed only with the testimony of a good conscience, what further use is there of these armed pilgrims? Pray you therefore countermand these soldiers, before they go to make any further spoil in my territories; for my own person may serve for a sufficient pledge." The legate answered, "That he had done well in coming to him, yet he could not send back the soldiers, except he would put seven of his best castles into his hands, which should serve for a hostage."

Now the earl, when it was too late, saw his own folly, in putting himself into the legate's hands, and thereby making himself a prisoner. But there was no remedy. He now must take laws from him that had him in his power; and therefore he told him, "That both his person and possessions were at his disposal, beseeching him that his subjects might receive no damage by the soldiers."

The legate presently sent to put garrisons in those seven castles, commanding all the consuls of every city presently to appear before him; and when they were come, he told them, "that earl Remund had delivered up his castles to the pope; and therefore they were to take notice of it, that so they might acknowledge themselves lawful subjects to his holiness, in case the earl should falsify his oath to the pope." The consuls were much astonished, thus to see their lord divested of all his possessions. But that which most afflicted them was, to see him led to St. Giles's, to be reconciled to the church, where the legate commanded the earl to strip himself stark naked, all but his linen drawers; then he put a cord about his neck, whereby he led him nine times

about the grave of friar Peter, scourging him with rods all the while. The earl demanded satisfaction for so sharp a penance, seeing he was not guilty of the fact. The legate answered, "That he must submit, if he would be reconciled to the pope; yea, he must be thus scourged before earls, barons, marquisses, prelates, and all the people." He made him also swear to be obedient all his life to the pope and the church of Rome, and to make irreconcilable war against the Albigenses. Then the legate made him general of the crossed soldiers, for the siege of Beziers. The earl knew not what to do; for to conduct an army to fight against the Albigenses, was to sin against his conscience; and if he should flee away, it would furnish them with new matter of persecution against him and his subjects. In this extremity he staid in the army a few days, and then went towards Rome, to reconcile himself to the pope.

Then the army came before the city of Beziers, provided all manner of engines for battery, and reared up ladders for a general *escalado*. The earl of Beziers beholding this, and judging it impossible to defend the city, he went out and cast himself down at the legate's feet, beseeching him not to punish the innocent with the guilty, which must needs be, if the town was taken by storm. He told him, that there were in the city a great number of good Catholics, which would be subject to the same ruin with the Albigenses. He desired him also to commiserate him, now in his minority, that was a most obedient servant to the pope, and had been brought up in the Romish church, in which he would live and die. The legate told him, that all his excuses prevailed nothing, and that he might do as he pleased. The earl returned again into the city, assembled the people, and told them that he could obtain no mercy from the legate, except all the Albigenses would come and abjure their religion, and promise to live according to the laws of the church of Rome. The popish party requested the Albigenses to yield to this; but the Albigenses answered, that

they would not forsake their religion, for the base price of frail life: that God was able, if he pleased, to defend them; but if he would be glorified by the confession of their faith, it would be a great honour to them to die for his sake: and that they had rather displease the pope, who could but kill their bodies, than God, who would cast both body and soul into hell.

Then the popish party sent their bishop to the legate, beseeching him not to include them in the chastisement of the Albigenes; and the best way to win the others, was by gentle means, not by rigour. The legate grew into great choler at this, swearing, "That if all the city did not acknowledge their fault, they should all taste of one cup, without distinction of religion, sex, or age." And accordingly he summoned the city immediately to yield to his discretion; which they refusing, he caused his engines to play, and a general assault to be given. It was impossible for them within the city to resist so great a violence, being assaulted by above 100,000 pilgrims: so the enemy entered, slew a great multitude, and set the city on fire, and burnt it to ashes. When the city was first taken, the priests and monks came forth of the great church, with banners and crosses, singing *Te Deum Laudamus*; but the soldiers, who were commanded by the legate to kill all, ran upon them, made their heads and arms to fly about the streets, so that they were all cut in pieces. In this city of Beziers, they slew 60,000 persons; the pope's legate saying to the captains and soldiers, "Kill them all, [Catholics and heretics,] for the Lord knoweth who are his." Then these pilgrims were presently conducted to Carcasson, before the forty days of service, which they had vowed to the church of Rome, were expired.

The earl of Beziers, when he saw that he could obtain no favour of the legate, before the city was taken, left his charge to the bishop, and went to Carcasson, endeavouring to prepare and furnish it for a long siege; but the legate's army followed him presently, unto which there

came a new supply of crossed soldiers, out of sundry countries, so that his army consisted of 300,000 fighting men. Near to the city of Carcasson, was a town of the same name. The city was seated on a hill, and fenced with a double wall, yet the pilgrims thought to take it at the first sight, and therefore ran with great violence upon the first rampart, filling the ditch with faggots; but they were beaten back with such courage, that the ground was covered with their dead bodies. The young earl of Beziers won much honour in this first encounter, encouraging his men, and telling them, "That it was better to die fighting, than to fall into the hands of such merciless enemies." The Albigenes, much encouraged hereby, swore to him, "That they would spend their lives for the preservation of the city."

The next morning, the legate commanded a general assault to be made upon the town of Carcasson, which was two miles from the city, and the people valiantly defended themselves; but being oppressed with multitudes, the soldiers entered the town, putting all to the sword and fire, as they had done at Beziers. Then came the king of Arragon to the camp, and told the legate, "That he understood that his kinsman, the earl of Beziers, was in the city, and that with his leave he would go to him; not doubting but that he should prevail with him to do his duty to the pope and church." The legate gave him leave; and the king approaching to the rampart, called for the earl, who came to him. To whom the king said, "That he desired to know of him what moved him to shut himself up in that city against so great an army of pilgrims?" The earl answered, "That it was to defend his life, goods, and subjects: that he well knew that the pope, under pretence of religion, resolved to destroy his uncle Remund and himself: that he saw the cruelty which they had used at Beziers, even against the priests themselves. Adding also, what they had done to the town of Carcasson, and "that they must look for no mercy from the legate, or his army; and that therefore he

rather chose to die, defending himself with his subjects, than to fall into the hands of so inexorable an enemy as the legate was. That though he had in his city some that were of another religion, yet they were such as had wronged none, and were come to his succour in his greatest extremity; and for their good service he was resolved not to abandon them; and that his trust was in God, the defender of the oppressed: that he would assist them against that world of ill-advised men, who forsook their own houses, to burn, sack, and ransack, and kill in their houses, other men, without reason, judgment, or mercy."

The king returning to the legate, told him, "That his cousin was much discontented with his former dealings against his subjects of Beziers and Carcasson; that he believed, seeing they spared not the Romish priests, their war was not for religion, but a kind of thievery; and that he would not yield himself to the discretion of such merciless men." The legate, after some debate, told the king, "That for his sake he would receive the earl of Beziers to mercy; and that with him twelve more might come out with bag and baggage; but for the rest, he would have them wholly at his discretion; and, that then they might hope well of his mercy, he being the pope's legate." The king much distasted this proposition, yet reported it to the earl of Beziers, who returned answer, "That he would not come forth upon such unreasonable and unjust propositions, but would defend himself and his subjects as God should enable him. Then the legate caused all his engines to play, commanding "that they should take the city by storm;" but he was little pleased, when he saw the loss of a great number of his pilgrims: for they in the city threw down stones, fire, pitch, brimstone, and boiling water; wherewith they so galled the assailants, that the earth was covered, and the ditches filled with dead bodies, which caused a noisome stink, both in the city and camp. This overthrow caused divers of the crossed soldiers, having accomplished their forty

days' service, and thereby gained Paradise, to refuse to conquer more, after so fair a purchase, and therefore they returned home.

The legate being much troubled to see his army so decreased, thought of this stratagem: He sent for a gentleman, telling him, That he might do a piece of service whereby he might not only merit heaven, but gain a great reward here; which was, by going to the earl of Beziers, and endeavouring to put him into great fears, and then to persuade him to have recourse to the legate's mercy; and withal, that he should persuade him, with great oaths and execrations, (whereof he could absolve him at his pleasure,) to come with him to the legate, with assurance that he should be dismissed safe and sound. This gentleman played his part so well, that he brought the young earl with him. The legate presently told him, "That he was now his prisoner till Carcasson was taken, and till his subjects had better learned their duty." The earl, astonished hereat, cried out, "That he was betrayed, and that faith was violated with him." But this prevailed nothing; for he was presently committed to the guard and custody of the duke of Burgundy.

The inhabitants of Carcasson understanding this, brake forth into tears, and were so astonished, that they now thought of nothing but how, by flight, to escape the danger; but that seemed impossible, being environed with such an army. At last one told them, "That he heard some old men say that there was a certain vault under ground, great and large, which went to the castle of Cameret, three leagues off." Then were all the citizens employed to search for this vault; and having at last found it, they began their flight in the evening, with their wives and children, carrying with them only some victuals for a few days. This departure was accompanied with much sorrow, thus to leave all their worldly enjoyments. The next morning they came to the castle, and from thence dispersed themselves, some to Arragon, others to Catalonia, and others to Tholouse, whither it

pleased God to conduct them. In the morning, the pilgrims were strangely astonished, hearing no noise, nor seeing any man stirring in the city, yet they approached the walls with much fear, lest it should be a stratagem to endanger them; but finding no opposition, they mounted the walls, crying out, "That the Albigenes were fled." And thus was the city, with all the spoils, taken, and the earl of Beziers committed to prison, in one of the strongest towers of Carcasson. Then the legate called all the prelates and great lords of his army together, telling them, "That though it was requisite that there should always be a legate in the army, yet it was likewise necessary that there should be a secular general, wise and valiant, to command in all their affairs." This charge was first proffered to the duke of Burgundy, then to the earl of Ennevers, and to the earl of St. Paul; but they all refused it. Lastly, it was proffered to earl Simon, of Montfort, who, after some excuses, accepted of it. The earl being made general, settled himself at Carcasson, with 4000 pilgrims, all the remains of that huge army.

After this, earl Remund, of Thoulouse, went to the French king, for his letters of commendation to the pope, to be by him fully cleared from the death of friar Peter; and the pope thereupon received him courteously, gave him full absolution, and declared him sufficiently justified.

Shortly after, the earl of Beziers died in prison, and earl Simon was put into possession of his lands; whereupon all that bordered upon him began to fear him; for he gave it out, "that the spring following he would have a great army of pilgrims, wherewith he would chastise those that had not acknowledged his authority, given him by the church." Upon this occasion, Castris sent unto him the keys of their city; the castle of Pinies yielded to him; and so did all round about Carcasson. But the king of Arragon secretly encouraged the gentlemen of the viscounty of Beziers, telling them "that his pilgrims would be uncertain, and would not stay long with him, and that, if in the mean time they would keep themselves

in their garrisons, when he was weak, by the departure of his pilgrims, they might set upon him, and reduce him to reason." These messages gave such encouragement to the gentry, that earl Simon being gone to Montpellier, they took arms to shake off his yoke, besieging some of his soldiers in a tower near Carcasson. The earl hearing of it, presently returned to succour them, but the tower was taken before he came; which affront brought him into some contempt. Then captain Boucard, belonging to earl Simon, attempted to surprise the strong castle of Cabaret, making his approach thereto as secretly as he could. Captain Roger, commanding therein for earl Remund, was come forth with eighty horse to forage. Boucard, on a sudden, charged him; but Roger doubled the charge, in so furious a manner, that he overcame Boucard's party, and brought him prisoner into that castle that he came to surprise.

Gerrard, of Pepios, took part with the Albigenses, so that the war grew hot: and all the men that earl Simon took he caused a great fire to be made, and cast them into it; neither did his men escape scot-free, when they fell into their enemies' hands. The city of Carcasson was hereupon stricken with great fear, having little hope to defend themselves but by flight, being environed on all sides by their enemies. About this time, earl Simon wrote to all the prelates throughout Europe, that if, in the spring following, they did not send him good store of pilgrims, he could hold out no longer against his enemies; having, since the last departure of his pilgrims, lost above forty towns and castles; and whilst he waited for these new succours, he surprised the castle of Beron, where he pulled out the eyes of above one hundred Albigenses, and cut off their noses, leaving only one with one eye to guard the rest to Cabaret.

In the year 1210, earl Simon, being shut up in Carcasson, for want of soldiers, heard that his wife was coming from France, with many pilgrims; whereupon he went out to meet her. These pilgrims he employed

against the castle of Menerbe, which at last was yielded up to him for want of water. This castle was defended by Remund, lord of Termes, and was situated in Narbonne. One argument which earl Simon used to stir up his soldiers to fight manfully against it was, "For that (said he,) there hath been no mass sung in it since the year 1180, which is now thirty years." Upon the surrender of the castle, they laboured to draw this noble lord to recant his religion, and turn papist; but finding him immovable, they shut him up in a close prison, where shortly after he died. They also took his wife, sister, and daughter, who was a maid, and other noblewomen, whom they laboured to withdraw from the truth, both by flattery and frowns, by fair speeches and threats; but when they saw that nothing would prevail, they made a huge fire, and casting them into the same, burnt them. After his taking the castle, he caused a friar to preach to the people, and to exhort them to acknowledge the pope and church of Rome; but they not staying till he had done, cried out, "We will not forsake our faith; you labour but in vain; for neither life nor death shall make us abandon our belief." Then the earl and legate caused a great fire to be made, and cast into it 180 men and women, who went in with joy, giving God thanks for that he was pleased so to honour them as to grant them to die for his name's sake. They also told earl Simon, "That he would one day pay dear for his cruelties." All that saw their valour and constancy were much amazed.

After this, the earl besieged the castle of Termes, which also at last was taken for want of water; yet they within the castle, when they perceived that they could hold out no longer, quitted the place by night, and passed away undiscovered. The castle de la Vaur was also besieged, in which there were many godly people. Many pilgrims came thither to the legate from all countries; and, amongst others, 6000 Germans; of whose coming the earl of Foix hearing, he laid an ambush for them, overthrew and slew them all, not one escaping, but an earl

that carried the news to earl Simon. After six months siege, the castle of Vaur was taken by assault, where all the soldiers were put to the sword, save eighty gentlemen, whom earl Simon caused to be hanged; and the lord Aimeri on a gibbet higher than all the rest: the lady, his sister, called Girauda, was cast into a ditch, and there covered with stones. As for the rest of the people, a very great fire was made, and they were put to their choice, "Whether they would forsake their opinions, or perish by the flames?" There were scarce any of them found that would do the first; but exhorting one another, they were cast into the fire, where joyfully they resigned up their spirits unto God.

After the return of earl Remund from the pope, the legate still thought to entrap him, but the earl would not come again within his reach. Then the legate sent the bishop of Thoulouse to him, who, pretending great love and friendship, by his subtilty at last prevailed with him to proffer his strong castle of Narbonne to them to lodge in, as they passed that way. But as soon as the legate and his company were entered, they seized upon it, and put a garrison into it; which was a continual vexation to all his subjects. The legate still resolved upon the utter extirpation of earl Remund, and all his house, as the head of the Albigenses; but presently after, this legate dying, earl Simon was frustrated of this hope.

About this time, the English, who now possessed Guienne, which borders upon the earldom of Thoulouse, began to help the Albigenses, being stirred up thereto by Reynard Lollard, a godly and learned man; who by his powerful preaching, converted many to the truth, and defended the faith of the Albigenses; for which they were eagerly pursued, and constantly suffered martyrdom. And this they did the rather, not only for their neighbourhood's sake, but because this Remund, earl of Thoulouse, whom they so cruelly whipped, and had now excommunicated, was brother-in-law to king John; for his former wife was Joan, some time queen of Sicily;

which Joan was king John's sister, and bore to the earl of Thoulouse, Remund, who succeeded his father both in the earldom and in his trouble. John le Mayer much commendeth this Lollard, saying, "That he foretold many things by Divine revelation, which (says he,) came to pass in my time:" and therefore he puts him into the rank of holy prophets. And for his learning, it is evident by his Comment upon the Revelation, where he set forth many things that are spoken of the Roman antichrist. This worthy man was afterwards apprehended in Germany; and being delivered to the secular power, was burnt at Colen.

In the year 1211, a new legate, called Theodosius, was appointed to succeed, who excommunicated earl Remund. The bishop of Thoulouse thereupon sent the earl word, "That he must depart out of the city; for that he could not say mass whilst an excommunicated person was in the city." The earl returned this answer, "That he (the bishop,) should presently depart out of his territories, and that upon pain of his life." Accordingly the bishop departed, and took with him the canons of the cathedral church, with the cross, banner, and host, and went all of them bare-footed in procession. Coming thus to the legate's army, they were received as persecuted martyrs, with the tears of the pilgrims, and general applause of all. Hereupon the legate thought that he had sufficient cause to prosecute earl Remund as a relapsed and impenitent man. But first he sought by craft to get him into his power; and with fair, flattering letters he at last drew him once again to Arles. The earl had requested the king of Arragon to meet him there. When they were both come, the legate commanded them, upon pain of his high indignation, that they should not depart but with his leave. Whilst they were there, the earl was privately shewed, by a friend, the articles of the legate, to which he would enforce him to subscribe; which were these: I. That the earl of Thoulouse should presently dismiss all his men at arms.

II. That he should be obedient to the church, and repair all the costs and damages which the church hath been at. III. That he should expel out of his territories all the heretics and their allies. IV. That he should deliver into the hands of the legate, and of earl Simon, all those persons that should be named unto him. V. That all his castles of defence should be razed to the ground. VI. That no gentlemen of his should live in any city or castle, but in country houses, or villages only. VII. That every master of a family should pay yearly four Thoulousian pence to the legate. VIII. That when earl Simon should pass through his countries, he should bear their charges. IX. That after his performance of these things, he should go into the Holy Land, to fight against the Turk, and never return again into his own country, but by the leave of the pope, or his legate. Remund having read these articles, shewed them to the king, who advised him presently to mount on horseback, lest, seizing upon him, they might the better become masters of all his estate, which accordingly he did. The legate was much troubled that he had lost his prey, and despairing to do any thing more by subtilty, he resolved to set upon him by force; and thereupon he besieged the castle of Montferrand, where Baldwin, the brother of the earl of Thoulouse, was governor. Baldwin, pretending inability to defend the place, yielded it up, and, abjuring his opinions, turned papist.

The earl of Thoulouse, seeing himself thus betrayed by his brother, lamented exceedingly; but a greater mischief soon after befel him; for the legate and earl Simon won from him, by their subtilty, the king of Arragon, his only prop, under God. And by this means they agreed, That the king of Arragon's daughter should be married to earl Simon's eldest son; in consideration whereof, the king of Arragon invested Simon in the earldom of Beziers; and now they intended jointly to besiege Thoulouse. For which end, the bishop of Thoulouse was sent to levy soldiers in France, and at his return hasted

to Thoulouse. Which earl Remund hearing of, sallied out of the city with 500 horse, and some foot, and marched to the bridge which goes over the river Garonne, not far from Thoulouse, hoping either to gain it, or to break it down; but being overpowered by multitudes, he was forced to make a retreat, and the enemy pursued him to the very gates of Thoulouse. Earl Remund, seeing their insolence, sallied out again with a greater strength, and charged them so gallantly, that he beat them back to the bridge; which being but narrow, he slew almost all of them there; and took Aimery, the son of earl Simon, prisoner. Earl Simon hearing of this loss, hastened with all his army to the city, and gave a furious assault to it; but the ditches were soon filled with the dead bodies of the enemy, beaten from off their scaling-ladders; and the earl himself was beat from off his horse. In the midst of this assault came the earl of Champaign, soon enough to be well beaten for his welcome. Earl Simon, finding such stout resistance from the citizens, caused his pilgrims to spoil the orchards, gardens, and vineyards about the city; which being perceived, the president of Argeves issued out of the city suddenly, and slew a great number of the pilgrims; and on another part, the earl of Foix slew as many as he could meet with. The earl of Bar, seeing the disorder of the popish army, cried out, "A Bar! a Bar!" but the citizens of Thoulouse charged him so bravely, that, being discomfited, he was fain to flee amongst the rest. After this victory, earl Remund, returning to Thoulouse, caused publick thanks to be returned unto God for the same.

Earl Simon, after this, led his army into the country of the earl of Foix, who was now sick, where he took some towns. The legate, with another part of the army, went to Roquemaure, and in his way took the tower of Cassus, caused above 100 men, that were found therein, to be burnt alive, and levelled the tower to the earth.

Earl Remund, being much afflicted for the loss of his

ancient friend, the king of Arragon, studied how he might regain him ; and for that end propounded a match between his only son and the king of Arragon's daughter ; which motion the king readily embraced ; and so their amity was revived.

Not long after, the king of Arragon sent a letter of defiance to earl Simon, who sent the same all over Christendom, to stir up pilgrims to assist him for the destruction of the king, who (as he said) was now become the captain of the Albigenses. And in the mean time the pope's legate, raising an army in France, went speedily into the earldom of Foix, and took some towns, putting all to the sword, without distinction of sex or age ; and taking also St. Anthony's, he caused thirty of the principal men to be hanged, after he had granted them their lives.

In the year 1213, Peter, king of Arragon, with a great army besieged Muret, a strong town, situate upon the river Garonne, near Thoulouse : there were in his army the earls of Thoulouse, Comminges, and Foix. The night following, the popish bishops sent two friars to him, desiring him to take pity on the church, and not to undertake the defence of the heretics ; but they laboured in vain, for the king would not desert them ; whereupon they prepared the next day to give him battle, and whilst Simon Montfort was encouraging his soldiers, the bishop of Thoulouse carried a crucifix in his hand, whereupon the captains alighting, adored it. Then the bishop of Comminges, getting upon a high place, took the cross in his hand, and blessed the army, promising forgiveness of all sins to all that died in that quarrel. Hereupon Simon divided his army into three battalies, and so joining battle, they fought gallantly on both sides, till the king of Arragon was slain, and some thousands of his army. The Albigenses attributed this loss to God's judgment upon the human confidence of the king, who trusted too much in his great numbers, and was feasting, whilst his enemies

were plotting. After this victory, the pope's agents sent their letters into divers countries, for a new supply of pilgrims, utterly to root out the heretics.

Earl Simon was now so puffed up, that he summoned the earls of Thoulouse, Foix, Comminges, and the prince of Bern, to deliver to him the keys of those cities and castles which they possessed. They returned no answer, but each of them betook himself to his own territories, to provide the best they could for their affairs. Earl Remund retired to Montallon, and wrote to them at Thoulouse, that, understanding the bishop of Arras was coming with an army against them, and that he was altogether disabled to defend their city, he advised them, that they should make the best terms they could. In the interim, the earls of Foix, Comminges, and the prince of Bern did what they could to infest the enemy's armies. Upon the former advice, the citizens of Thoulouse sent some deputies to earl Simon, to proffer him the keys of their city, whom he received honourably, and presently wrote to Lewis, son of king Philip, that the city of Thoulouse was offered to him; but his desire was, that he should come and have the honour of taking it: the prince went thither immediately, and had Thoulouse delivered to him. Yet the legate resolved that the pillage of it should be given to his pilgrims, and the city dismantled, which was presently executed, though contrary to the promise made to the citizens.

Then earl Simon besieged the castle of Foix, but having lain ten days before it, he found to his cost, that the place was not to be won by him: for whereas earl Simon's brother quartered at Varilles, the earl of Foix dislodged him, and slew him with his lance, putting all his men to flight. News hereof being brought to earl Simon, he swore that he would drive the earl of Foix behind the Pyrenean mountains. But presently he had intelligence, that an army of the Arragonois and Catalunians were come into the earldom of Beziers, threatening to be revenged on him for the death of their good king; where-

upon he raised his siege in haste, and marched thitherwards. But the earl of Foix, who knew the passages better than he, lay in ambush for him in a place fit for his turn, and suddenly setting upon his pilgrims, slew a great number of them; only earl Simon, with a few others, escaped, and went to Carcasson; but before he came thither, the Arragonois were gone, else they might easily have discomfited him. Yet shortly after they returned again, and earl Simon was soundly beaten by them, so that he was forced to shut himself up in Carcasson, till he had a new supply of pilgrims.

Shortly after came Remund, son of earl Remund, out of England, (where he had been bred under his uncle king John) with an army, and quickly made himself master of the city of Beaucaire, and almost famished them that held the castle, so that they yielded it to depart with their baggage. There earl Simon lost 100 gentlemen, that he had placed in ambush near the city, whom young Remund in a sally cut to pieces.

In the year 1214, the legate called a council at Montpellier, for renewing of the army of the church, and to confirm the authority of earl Simon; where they declared him to be prince of all the countries conquered from the Albigenses; which title was confirmed to him by the pope also; who styled him, "The active and dexterous soldier of Jesus Christ, and the invincible defender of the catholic faith." But whilst earl Simon was in the council receiving this new honour, a rumour was heard in the city, and a messenger brought word that the people, hearing earl Simon was there, betook themselves to their arms, purposing to kill him; whereupon he stole away by the walls of the city on foot, without any company, and so escaped; so that in one hour he saw himself honoured as a god, and fleeing, disguised, for fear of the multitude.

In 1215, there was a council held by the pope at Lateran, where they gave the inquisitors such power against the gospellers, that poor people were every where horribly

tortured, that were but suspected of heresy. Friar Conrade, of Marpurg, the pope's inquisitor, if he but suspected any of heresy, used to try them by the judgment of red hot irons; and such as were burned by the irons, he delivered as heretics to the secular power, to be burnt in the flames; whereupon most of those that were accused, were by him condemned to be burnt, few escaping the hot irons: insomuch, as noble, ignoble, clerks, monks, nuns, burgesses, citizens, and countrymen, were, under the name of heresy, (by too headlong a sentence of the inquisitor,) on the same day whereon they were accused, cast into the flames, no appeal or defence doing them any good.

By the same council, earl Simon had the fore-mentioned lands of the Albigenses confirmed to him, and thereupon he hastened to the king of France, to receive investiture. When he had received it, being attended with 100 bishops, and an exceeding great army of pilgrims, he hastened to make himself lord of all those countries which the pope gave him. So that all men trembled at his approach, and with this great army he took divers places, using great cruelty, putting men, women, and children to the sword. Then he marched to Thoulouse, purposing to pillage and raze it to the ground: but by the way, his wife sent him word, that he must speedily come to her relief, being besieged in the castle of Narbonne, by the earl of Thoulouse. By this time many of his pilgrims were returned to France.

Earl Simon hastening to the relief of his wife, and being come before Thoulouse, the people, by frequent sallies, made that place too hot for his abode. The legate, perceiving that he was much astonished at it, said to him, "Fear nothing, we shall quickly recover the city, and then we will destroy all the inhabitants; and if any of our pilgrims are slain in fight, they shall, as martyrs, immediately pass to paradise." Hereupon, one of earl Simon's great captains said, "Monsieur Cardinal, you

talk with great assurance, but if the earl believe you, it will be little for his profit ; for you, and other prelates, have been the causers of all this evil, and will be of more, if he believe you." Then it was resolved, that the city should be besieged on the side of Gascoign ; but the citizens made such a blunt sally, that they put their enemies to flight ; and presently the earl of Foix coming with new supplies, fell upon earl Simon, chased him to the river Garonne, where many of his pilgrims were drowned, and the earl, with his horse, fell into the river, and narrowly escaped. The earl Remund caused publick thanksgiving to be given to God for this happy victory.

In the year 1218, there came to earl Simon, 100,000 pilgrims, and he was resolved that they should earn their pardons, knowing that at the end of forty days they would vanish. Whereupon the next morning they were ordered to give a general assault to Thoulouse. But earl Remund perceiving in the night that they were secure, because of their great multitude, he sallied out upon them, and that with such good success, that ere morning, all the field was covered with their dead bodies, and the earl with his men being weary with killing, returned into the city to give thanks unto God for his assistance. Then earl Simon entered into the castle of Narbonne, to see if he could discern any way to enter into the city ; but finding none, it much troubled him : whereupon two lords gave him counsel to come to some honourable agreement. But the cardinal Bertrand told him, there was no need for him so to do. To whom one of them answered, " Monsieur Cardinal, pray you, where find you that you should take from earl Remund, and his son, that which belongs unto them ? If I had known as much as I know now, I had never taken upon me this business."

After nine months' siege, the citizens of Thoulouse made another sally, killing as many soldiers as they encountered with ; and earl Simon coming in to the relief of his men, had his horse shot in the head with an arrow,

which caused him to run away with him ; which one of the Albigenses seeing, he shot him through his thigh with his cross-bow. Simon, perceiving he lost much blood, was labouring to get out of the throng, but just at that present, a woman discharging an engine from the walls of Thoulouse, a stone parted his head from his shoulders ; and thus, by God's just judgment, he that had been the deflourer and murderer of many women, was himself slain by a woman. Upon his death, the legate and all the bishops fled, never staying till they came to Carcasson ; the pilgrims disbanded, and returned to their homes ; and earl Remund caused a publick thanksgiving to be returned to Almighty God for this so signal a deliverance.

The legate Bertrand, being weary of these wars, wrote to pope Honorius III. desiring to be recalled, because of his age ; yet withal he signified a necessity of continuing these wars. Otherwise, (saith he,) not only the lands of the Albigenses will be lost, but the church of Rome itself will be ruined, the doctrine of the Albigenses shaking the authority of the popes themselves : and (saith he,) this war hath cost us very dear ; for within less than fifteen years, there have died 300,000 crossed soldiers ; and therefore all will be lost, except those heretics be utterly destroyed.

In the year 1220, earl Guido, of Montfort, son and heir to earl Simon, went against the Albigenses, but was soon after slain by the earl of St. Giles, as he besieged a castle in Thoulouse. Then his brother Almerick besieged the same castle, and swore, that he would never depart from it till he had taken it : but after a while, his hoped-for aids failing him, he was forced to leave the siege, and depart. After whose departure, the Albigenses recovered many places.

In the year 1221, the young emperor Frederick, by the instigation of the pope, published a bloody edict against the gospellers within his dominions, wherein he declared them publick enemies ; commanding their goods to be

confiscated, without redemption, and their sons to be disinherited: as also, that all of them that were apprehended should be kept in prison, till they were killed with an abominable death. The like punishment he commanded to be inflicted on all such as should aid or assist them. He also took away all benefit of appeal from such as were receivers or favourers of them. And further, he commanded that their houses, and the houses of such as should receive, defend, or favour them, either where they have taught, or where they have laid on hands, should be plucked down, and never more repaired.

The same year some of these Albigenses going into Bosnia and Dalmatia, drew many of the people to embrace their faith; whereupon the bishop of Cologne was sent thither by pope Honorius, as his legate, and required to force them to return to the catholic faith; but he being weary of the work, left it to the Friars Predicant. The king assisting them, they burnt with fires those that were obstinate in their heresies.

In 1223, Bartholomew, the bishop of the Albigenses of Thoulouse, ordained a bishop for Bulgary, Croatia, and Dalmatia, where their faith spread so fast, that bishops themselves were drawn to be of their opinion. Whereupon the pope's legate wrote to the archbishop of Roan, to meet with other bishops at a council at Sens, against the said Bartholomew.

In 1226, the legate commanded all that were able to bear arms to sign themselves with the sign of the cross, against the earl of Thoulouse and his people. At his preaching, a great multitude of prelates and laymen took upon them the sign of the cross, yet more for fear of the king of France, than induced by the justness of the cause. But the king of France being signed with the cross, would not take upon him the expedition, unless the pope would forbid the king of England to move war against him; which the pope accordingly did. King Henry III. of England, upon receipt of the pope's letters, assembled his nobles to consult with them what he should

do : at which time there was one Mr. William Pierpoint, who constantly affirmed before the king, " That if the king of France took upon him this expedition, he should either never return alive, or else should meet with as great confusion as might be, both of his person, estate, and followers."

The king of France, having settled his affairs at home, together with the legate, appointed a day for the crossed soldiers to come to a rendezvous, with their horses and arms at Lyons, from whence, at the time appointed, he began his expedition with an huge army, which was accounted *invincible*. In the army there were reckoned ¹ 50,000 knights, and men at arms on horseback, besides an innumerable company of footmen. Then the legate publicly excommunicated the earl of Thoulouse, putting all his favourers and lands under interdict. The king, with his glittering and terrible arms, on Whitsun-Eve, came to Avignon, the first city in Thoulouse, purposing to destroy the whole land of the earl, from one end to the other, and utterly to root out the inhabitants thereof; yet very cunningly the king and the legate sent to the citizens, only desiring passage through the city. The citizens consulting together, returned answer, that they suspected fraud, neither would they admit them into the city; whereupon the king, in a great rage, swore, that he would not depart thence till he had taken it.

The citizens valiantly defended themselves, so that the siege lasted long. The earl of Thoulouse, before the coming of the French army, had withdrawn all kind of victuals, together with the women, children, and cattle, into places of safety: hereupon the king's army fell into great wants, so that multitudes perished by famine. Their horses and beasts were also starved; for the earl had caused all the meadows in the whole country to be ploughed up, so that they had no fodder, but what was brought out of France: and their wants daily increasing, many legions went out of the king's camp to seek for food; but the earl of Thoulouse, with a flying army, lay

in ambush many times for them, and cut off multitudes of them. They also that lay in the siege before the city, were miserably wasted by darts, and stones shot in engines from the walls by the citizens, and a general famine overspread all. The king and legate were confounded, to think what reproach it would be to them, and to the church of Rome, that so gallant and numerous an army should undertake such an expedition, and be able to effect nothing. Then the chief princes and captains, being weary of the long siege, solicited that a general storm might be given, hoping by their multitudes to oppress the citizens; which being resolved upon, such a multitude of armed men thronged upon the bridge that goes over the river Rhone, that the bridge breaking under them, 3000 of them were drowned. Presently after, as the French were one day at dinner, the citizens, discovering their carelessness, sallied forth, and violently setting upon them, slew 10,000, without any loss to themselves. The king of France commanded the dead bodies to be thrown into the river, affording them no other burial.

Then he removed his siege to a farther distance, and to prevent the like attempts, caused a ditch to be cast up between the city and his camp; and the legate, with his prelates, not knowing how otherwise to revenge themselves, *anathematized* the earl of Thoulouse, and all his subjects: but, *whom they cursed, the Lord blessed*: for shortly after, he sent a very great plague into the French camp, so that king Lewis, to escape the same, retired himself into the neighbouring abbey of Montpensier, where he resolved to remain till the city should be taken. Unto whom came Henry, earl of Champaign, desiring to be dismissed, having now served forty days; but the king denied his request. To whom the earl said, "That having performed what he enjoined, he neither might nor would be stayed any longer." The king, being very angry hereat, swore, that if he departed, he would waste his whole land with fire and sword; yet the

earl, according to his former resolution, went his ways ; and shortly after the Lord struck the king with sickness, whereof he died. The legate and great captains concealed his death for a month together ; and in the interim sent messengers, labouring to draw the citizens to a composition ; and commissioners being sent to the camp, the legate persuaded them to resign up their city to him, upon promise, that they should enjoy their lives, estates, and liberties, in a better manner than they had formerly. But they answered, that they would not live under the power of the Frenchmen, whose pride and insolence they had often tried. After a long parley, the legate desired, that himself and the prelates might be admitted into the city, swearing with a great oath, that he had continued the siege so long, only that he might seek the salvation of their souls. The citizens giving credit to his promise, not suspecting his treachery, after mutual oaths given on either side, admitted him with the prelates and their followers, into the city : but contrary to their oaths, the Frenchmen followed, violently rushing into the city, when the gates were open, and, seizing upon the citizens, they bound them, plundered their houses, and slew many ; and having thus by treachery made themselves masters of the city, they brake down the walls. During this siege, there perished more than 22,000 of the pilgrims, by famine, sword, pestilence, and other ways ; and so the rest returned to their own homes.

In 1228, pope Gregory, being implacably bent to root out the Albigenses, stirred up the young king of France against them ; who sent a great army into Provence, utterly to destroy them ; which army, hearing that the earl of Thoulouse was in the castle called Saracen, purposed to besiege him, as being there shut up. But the earl having notice of their intent, lay in ambush in a wood, through which they were to pass ; and when they were come to the place, he assaulted them, and after a bloody fight, slew many, took 200 knights, and about 2000 men at arms. That summer the king of France

sent three armies against them, all which were either put to flight, or taken and imprisoned by the said earl.

Yet the same year, Imbert, of Beavim, went against them with a great army of crossed soldiers, amongst whom were three archbishops, every one with the pilgrims of his jurisdiction. The earl of Thoulouse was feign to shut himself within the walls of Thoulouse, where he was strongly besieged by the pilgrims, who also wasted and spoiled his country and harvest, far and near on every side. The siege continuing, the citizens suffered great famine; and when they were brought to this extremity, the abbot of Grandsylve went from the pope's legate, to offer peace to earl Remund, and the Thoulousians. Some of the earl's captains dissuaded him from it, knowing the perfidiousness of the papists; but the cries of the hungry multitude prevailed, so that a truce was agreed upon for certain days; and earl Remund, upon the day appointed, went to the place, where the peace was to be concluded. But when he came thither, the abbot persuaded him, that it was necessary the agreement should be perfected in the presence of the queen-mother, who was regent of France; and pawned his faith to him, that if he would go to her, he should return in safety. The earl, overcome by these promises, assented; and Meaux was the place chosen by the queen for their meeting. But as soon as earl Remund came thither, contrary to all oaths and engagements, he was made a prisoner, and had a guard set upon him, that he might not start aside; and instead of a treaty, he must submit to whatever should be enjoined.

In 1229, divers councils were held against the Albigenses: one at Thoulouse, the acts whereof were proclaimed in that city by Romanus, the pope's legate: another at Narbonne, where more cruel decrees were made against them: a third at Beziers, exceeding in rigour both the former; and amongst the rest an oath of abjuration, whereby all persons, males at fourteen years old, females at twelve years old, were to abjure all heresy,

as they called it, and to swear that they would keep the faith, and defend the catholic church, and persecute all the opposers of the same; and that all that took not this oath within 15 days, should be held suspected of heresy, and proceeded against accordingly

In 1232, queen Blanche, and the pope's legate, so over-awed the earl of Thoulouse, that they caused him to make cruel edicts against his own subjects of the Albigenian religion: "That they should be persecuted, searched out, and taken: That whosoever could apprehend any one of them, should have a mark for each of them so taken: That all that were suspected to be of their religion should be excluded from bearing office: That all houses should be pulled down, wherein any of them should be found: That all their goods and inheritances should be confiscated: That the like should be done to all that should aid or abet them, or that should hinder, or not assist the inquisitors in the execution of their office: That whosoever should be suspected of their heresy, should have an oath given him to keep the peace, and the catholic faith."

The earl of Foix and Comminges, and the prince of Bern, yet remained to be conquered; and the pope's legate thought that the earl of Thoulouse was the fittest person to deal with them: whereupon he caused him to write to them, to persuade them to embrace the catholic faith. But the earl of Foix returned answer, "That he could not forsake his faith at such a time, wherein men might think that he did it rather out of fear, than upon any good grounds; and that it was fitter for them to convince him of the truth of their way, than to allure him by promises, or force him thereto by arms: and, that if they brought that world of pilgrims against him, which they threatened, he trusted in God, that he should make them know the justice of his cause, and make them repent the rashness of their vow." But the earl's subjects, fearing that their lord, being aged, and without wife and children, should leave them to the mercy of the

first conqueror, intreated him to come to a composition with the legate ; whereupon he began to treat, and at last yielded up divers castles into the hands of the king of France, upon promise that he would rule with justice and equity.

In 1234, the opinions of the Albigenses were much spread abroad in divers parts of Spain, and other adjacent countries ; and they had bishops among them who boldly preached against the Romish errors, and especially against transubstantiation : whereupon a croisado was preached against them ; and a very great army of pilgrims, being assembled together, were sent against them by pope Gregory, who slew them all, with their bishops, seized on their cities, and plundered them. About the same time, another army of these pilgrims went against others of them on the borders of Germany, who retiring into a fenny place for their security, were there all slain.

The same year the Lord raised up Trancavel, the natural son of the earl of Beziers, deceased ; who was encouraged and assisted by a number of valiant captains, who told him, that they would assist him to revenge the outrages done to his father, who was basely deprived of his land, being betrayed, imprisoned, and at last poisoned. Whereupon he resolved to recover by the sword, what was so unjustly taken from him ; and before the enemies had notice of his design, he took divers strong castles : so that the pope's legate, and the bishop of Thoulouse, were much astonished to see these men stand up for the Albigenses, whom they supposed to have been utterly suppressed. Then the pope's agents caused the cross to be preached ; and the bishop of Narbonne animated the people of his diocese to go against them, and to make an end of the poor remainder of the Albigenses.

An army being raised, the pope's legate led it to Thoulouse, and when the citizens appeared upon their ramparts, he told them, " That he was come thither for their preservation." They thanked him, but withal told him, " That if he did not instantly retire himself, they would

give him the chase." And presently came Trancavel, who so valiantly set upon the legate's troops, that he quickly overthrew them, and chased them to the very gates of Carcasson; and the legate had much ado to save himself: but that which most angered the legate, was, that Trancavel found entertainment in some part of Carcasson: so that the pilgrims durst hardly peep out of the city gates. And when he heard of any more pilgrims coming to the legate, he used to meet them, and to lay in ambush for them; and often overthrowing them, their designs were frustrated. This man kept the field till 1242, and still prevailed against all the crossed soldiers that came against him; whereupon Ameline, the pope's legate, wrote to the pope, that if he caused not the cross to be preached in many parts of Europe, the church was like to sustain much damage by this enemy: "For (says he,) he is more cruel and subtle than any before him."

But a little before, the bishop of Thoulouse was informed of a certain matron, who having her children, brethren, and friends about her, was dying an heretic; whereupon he ran to her, and found it even so by the confession of the woman herself; who desired to die in the faith of the Albigenses, and doubted not to be saved. Then the bishop condemned her, and delivered her to the secular power, who presently carried her forth in the bed wherein she lay, and burnt her.

In the year 1236, many embracing the faith of the Albigenses, beyond the Alps, inquisitors were sent against them, especially one friar Robert, who caused many of both sexes to be apprehended; and when they continued constant in the true faith, and would not renounce the same, in the space of two or three months, he caused fifty of them either to be burnt or buried alive.

In 1239, the king of France having garrisoned divers castles within the country of the Albigenses, which greatly oppressed them, they betook themselves to arms, besieging those garrisons; whereupon they sent to the king

of France, craving that present aid might be sent them. Then the king of France sent the lord John, of Bellemont, with an army to aid them; who, coming into that country, besieged the strong castle of Montreal, and at last took it, with divers others, belonging to the Albigenes; whereby they were suppressed for that time. But the year after, the earl of Thoulouse took arms again, and assaulted the earl of Provence, who presently sent to the French king for aid; and the French troops that were about Avignon, hastened to the relief of the earl of Provence. Which the earl of Thoulouse hearing of, he lay in ambush in their way, and suddenly setting upon them, slew many, and dispersed the rest; and the war so prospered in his hand, that in a short space he recovered to his former dominion above twenty castles from the French, and the earl of Provence, and sharply punished his rebels.

About the same time, the citizens of Milan being provoked thereunto by the pope and emperor, burnt many of the Albigenes, who were their fellow citizens.

In 1241, the earl of Thoulouse continuing his wars against the earl of Provence, almost beat him out of his country; so that the earl of Provence was obliged to send to the kings of England and France, (who had married two of his daughters,) to mediate for him; and they, writing to the earl of Thoulouse, obtained peace for their father-in-law.

In 1242, the bishops of Narbonne and Albium, and the steward of Carcasson, apprehended 200 of the Albigenes, in a certain castle of Thoulouse. All these, upon examination, adhering constantly to the true faith, without wavering, were cruelly burnt in the flames. And in the year following, there were 224 more of them likewise burnt. Shortly after, it pleased God that great contentions arose between the pope and the emperor, whereby the gossellers enjoyed some breathing time from their former miseries. But in 1270, Peter Cadarita and William Calonicus, were sent as inquisitors from the pope, into

the kingdom of Arragon, severely to punish those that had embraced the faith of the Albigenses ; and amongst others they condemned Arnaldus Castlebonius, the viscount, and his daughter Ermesenda, countess of Foix. They also decreed their memory to be detestable, commanding their bones to be digged out of their graves, and to be burned : they also called Roger, nephew of Ermesenda, into judgment for the same crime.

In 1281, there was a great persecution raised against the gossellers in the county of Albi, by one William de Gourdon, captain and president of Carcasson, under Philip, the French king ; who, by a proclamation, commanded all the Albigenses to be extirpated, and driven out of their dens and lurking-holes ; and all such as favoured, or concealed any of them, to be utterly rooted out : as also, that the innumerable multitude of their children, which would not be reduced to the catholic faith, and unity of the church of Rome, should not be admitted into the city of Realmont, or the territory thereof, nor to any honour or office. That such, likewise, as favoured or concealed any of them, should be banished for ever from the city of Realmont, their goods confiscated, and their children excluded from all honours and dignities. Yet, notwithstanding the severity of this edict, God hid and preserved many of them, even in Realmont itself, though many of them fled into Arragon and Sicily, where they might enjoy more freedom of conscience.

In 1285, Gareldus and Segarellus, of Parma, preached and spread the doctrine of the Albigenses in Parma, and in many cities of Lombardy ; whereupon pope Honorius, by a publick edict, condemned their doctrine, and commanded them to be rooted out.

In 1315, the friars inquisitors raised a great persecution against the gossellers in Passau, in Austria, and burnt many of them ; who continued constant in the faith, and took their death very cheerfully. Amongst the rest, one of them that were burnt at Vienna confessed, that there were 80,000 of them in Bohemia and Austria

at that time. Their chief ministers were, Bartholomew Faustus, James Justus, Bonnatus, William, and Gilbert; one of whom, James, was murdered between two walls by the merciless inquisitors; Bonnatus was burnt alive; and William, Gilbert, and Bartholomew, were condemned after their death. The house where they used to preach was pulled to the ground, and all that adhered to them were anathematized.

In 1322, Walter Lollard (from whom our English professors were called Lollards) was taken at Collen, where he had privately preached, and through God's blessing, drawn many from ignorance and errors, to embrace the truth, and persisting in his opinions, was condemned and burnt alive.

Yet notwithstanding all the cruelties used against the professors of the truth, their enemies could never prevail to a total extirpation of them, but they still lay hid like sparks under the ashes, desiring and longing to see that, which now, through God's grace, their posterity do enjoy, viz. The liberty to call upon God in purity of conscience, without being forced to any superstition or idolatry. And so they instructing their children in the service of God, the Lord was pleased to preserve a church amongst them, till the dispersing of the gospel in a more general way, by the ministry of Luther and his fellow-labourers. At which time the Albigenses received with greediness the doctrine of the gospel, and so became more eminent in their profession of piety, than they were formerly.

THE PERSECUTION
OF THE
CHURCH OF GOD IN BOHEMIA,
Which began in the year 894.



THE Bohemians were heathens and idolaters, till their captain Borivoius, going into Moravia, in 894, was converted to the faith of Christ; whereupon, he, together with thirty others, was baptized. At his return into Bohemia, he took along with him Methudius, bishop of Moravia, by whose ministry, Ludomilla, the duke's wife, was converted.

Borivoius employing himself in erecting schools and churches, it pleased God, that in a short time, a great harvest was gathered, many of the nobility and commons being daily converted; but satan envying the progress of the gospel, presently raised a persecution against the professors of it. For first, Borivoius was banished by the faction of the idolaters, and then compelled to resign his dominions to his eldest son; who dying soon after, his younger son succeeded, who was a very holy man; yet, was drawn to marry Drahomira, famous for nobility and beauty, but a heathen; however she promised, after instruction, to be baptised. During her husband's life, she concealed her hatred against the Christians; but he being

dead, the grand-mother (Ludomilla) educated the eldest son, (Wenceslaus,) and Drahomira took the youngest, (Bolislaus,) and usurped the government; commanding the Christian churches to be shut up, the exercise of their worship to cease, prohibiting ministers from instructing the people, and school-masters from teaching youth. Such as disobeyed were imprisoned, banished, and put to death.

At Prague, the magistrates were changed, and idolaters were substituted in the room of Christians, by whose incitements the Christians were openly and unworthily abused and murdered, whilst the murderers went away with impunity. But if any Christian killed a heathen, though in his own defence, ten Christians were massacred for that one. Yet the cruelty of Drahomira was not satisfied herewith; but that she might destroy all the Christians, she dealt with one Balloius, a cruel wretch, whom she had set over the city of Prague, earnestly intreating him, by fraud or force to effect it, promising him a great reward if he did it. He thereupon armed many conspirators at his house, with whom he hastened to those that were designed for slaughter. But the plot, through God's mercy, being discovered to the Christians, 400 of them met to defend their lives. The issue of the fight was victory to the Christians; the streets being polluted with the blood of 800 that were slain. Then Drahomira pretended, that she was much displeased with the tumult, commanding, that the arms of both parties should be brought to the city magazine; severely forbidding any man to walk with dart or sword. The Christians, though suspecting her fraud, yet, that they might not seem disobedient, brought their arms to the magazine; the enemies pretending also to do the like. This being done, Drahomira employed her cut-throats, in the night, to set upon the unarmed Christians, whereby above 300 of them were slain in one night. At this Drahomira much rejoiced; but yet not satisfied, she commanded the mayor of Prague to destroy all the Christians. Whereupon he

beset all the streets and passages, and slew all that he met withal; till the Christians, gathering themselves together, encountered with him, put him to flight, and in the pursuit, slew this wicked person. This so enraged Drahomira, that she commanded the two churches to be burnt down, in one of which her husband was interred. Whilst she thus raged against the Christians, Wenceslaus, now grown to years, by the advice of his grand-mother, and the Christian nobility, took upon him the government; and the better to establish peace, he assigned the city of Bolislavia, and the adjacent parts, to his mother and younger brother.

Yet Drahomira laid not aside her bloody designs against the Christians, which she first shewed against Ludomilla, substituting two villains, in the night, to murder her. These fellows, finding her at her prayers, strangled her. Some there were that provoked Wenceslaus to revenge that wicked act, which he refused; because he judged it contrary to that duty, which he owed to a mother; and to the modesty and patience of a Christian. But he was shortly after ill requited by this unnatural monster; who, by treachery, slew him also.

Bolislaus, having obtained the government, threatened imprisonment and death to all ministers and Christians, if they did not immediately leave Bohemia. Hereupon many fled, others were seized on, and tormented to death divers ways; but God suffered not Drahomira to escape his revenging hand; for in that place, where the ministers' bones lay unburied, the earth opened of itself, and swallowed her up alive with her chariot; which place is to be seen before the castle of Prague, to this day.

In 970, Woytich, the second bishop of Prague, labouring seriously in converting the relics of the Gentiles, they raised so great a sedition against him, as forced Woytich to a voluntary banishment. Then the pagans rose up against his brethren, and murdered five of them, and then conspired against their prince; but were overcome in battle.

Not long after, the pope, having usurped dominion over other churches, sought to obtrude his superstitions upon the Bohemians also : but especially he commanded, that all their sacred service should be in the Latin tongue, and that they should not have the cup in the sacrament. The Bohemians sent two ministers, and four others to Rome, in 977, to the pope, desiring to be eased of these grievances ; and at last obtained their request.

In 1197, pope Celestine sent a cardinal into Bohemia, to inhibit ministers' marriage, and to divorce such as were married ; but the bishops and ministers almost stoned him to death. Afterwards the cup was taken away in the sacrament ; but there were many that opposed that sacrilege also ; and among the rest, John Melicius, of a noble family, and fervent spirit, much honoured for his rare learning and holiness of life, in his ministry earnestly exhorted his auditors to a frequent communicating in both kinds.

Mr. Matthias, of Prague, was also a zealous defender of the communion in both kinds. In 1375, he, with some other learned men, went to king Charles, that then reigned, and requested him to call an oecumenical council, for the reformation of the church. Charles sending to the pope about it, he was so incensed at the message, that he commanded the king to punish those rash and heretical men. Upon this, Matthias was banished the kingdom, and the use of the sacrament in both kinds prohibited through all Bohemia ; so that the godly could not administer and receive it, but in private houses, in woods, and caves ; and not so, but with the hazard of their lives : for they were set upon in the highways, plundered, beaten, and drowned in rivers ; so that at last they were necessitated to go together in companies and armed. This continued to the days of John Hus, and Jerome of Prague. When these holy men were burned at Constance, the adversaries were not satisfied with their blood, but took further counsel, for the destruction of the whole nation : for when fifty-eight of the chief nobles of Bohemia, in

the name of the commons, in 1416, had sent letters from Prague to the council, complaining that their pastor, an innocent and holy man, and faithful teacher of the truth, was unjustly condemned; the council, instead of answering them, wrote letters to some violent papists who were in authority, to assist their legate in oppressing the heretics. Thereupon the papists persecuted them all manner of ways, and used such violence, as raised a tumult at Prague, in 1419, wherein the enraged multitude threw twelve senators of Prague, with the mayor, out of the windows of the senate-house, who fell upon the points of spears.

After this, the pope publicly excommunicated the Bohemians, at Florence, exciting the emperor, kings, princes, dukes, &c. to take up arms against them; entreating them by the wounds of Christ, and their own salvation, unanimously to fall upon them, and utterly to extirpate that cursed generation; promising universal remission of sins to the most wicked person, if he did but kill one Bohemian. Hereupon great wars were raised against them; but it pleased God still to give them the victory, under that brave captain, Zisca. Yet when the popish party prevailed at any time, they exercised all manner of cruelty upon the poor servants of Christ, insomuch, that at Cutenburgh, where were deep metal mines, in 1420, they threw into one of them 1700 persons, and into another 1334, and into a third 1038 persons.

The same year, a merchant of Prague came to Breslaw, in Silesia, when the emperor and pope's legate were there. Being at his inn, he was drawn into discourse, wherein he pleaded for Hus, and the sacrament in both kinds, for which he was cast into prison. The next day a student of Prague was cast into the same prison. The merchant exceedingly encouraged him, saying, "O my brother! what an honour is it, that we are called thus to bear witness to the Lord Jesus. Let us undergo the trouble with cheerfulness. The fight is but short, the reward is eternal. Let us remember the Lord, what a cruel death

he underwent for us, and with what guiltless blood we are redeemed, and what torments the martyrs have patiently endured." When they were brought to execution, and the ropes, by which the horses were to drag them through the streets, were fastened to their feet, the student, affrighted with the terrors of death, and allured by the fair promises of the legate, recanted. But the merchant, like an unshaken rock, told them, that their hopes of any recantation from him were but in vain. "I am ready to die (saith he) for the gospel of the Lord Jesus." And so being drawn slowly through the streets, he was brought to the place of execution, and there burnt.

In 1421, Pichel, the chief magistrate of the city of Litomeritia, having taken twenty-four of the chief citizens, and amongst them his son-in-law, put them in an high tower, and at last brought them out, half dead with hunger and cold, and adjudged them to be drowned. When they came to the river Albis, their wives, children, and friends made great mourning. The mayor's own daughter also came wringing her hands, and falling at her father's feet, besought him to save her husband's life: but he, harder than a rock, bade her give over, saying, "What? can you not have a worthier husband than this?" To whom she answered, seeing his inexorableness, "You shall never more espouse me to any:" and so beating her breasts, and tearing her hair, she followed among the rest. When the martyrs came to the river, whilst ferries were preparing, they with loud voices called heaven and earth to witness their innocence; and so taking leave of their wives, children, and friends, exhorting them to constancy and zeal for the truth, they were carried and cast into the midst of the river, with their hands and feet bound together, and so drowned; and if any were driven to the banks, they were stabbed with iron forks and pikes. The mayor's daughter, seeing her husband thrown into the river, leaped in after him, and caught him about the middle, but being unable to draw him forth, they were both drowned. The next day

they were found arm in arm, and were both buried in one grave.

About the same time, a company of soldiers going towards Prague, seized upon a godly minister, with four other men, and four boys, the eldest of whom was not above eleven years old, for administering and receiving the sacrament in both kinds, and carried them to their colonel; the colonel sent them to the bishop, who required them to abjure, or else he would burn them. The minister stoutly answered, "The gospel teacheth otherwise: so that you must either approve what we do, or blot it out of your Bible." Hereupon one of the troopers smote him so violently in the face, that the blood ran out of his mouth and nose. The bishop made this minister the subject of his mirth all that night, and the next day burned them all in one fire. Another captain, violently entering into a church, where many people were met together, killed some, and took others prisoners; and going to the communion-table, he took the cup, being full of wine, and drinking to his horse, he gave him, thereof, saying, "His horse was now one of the communicants in both kinds."

This year, a godly and eloquent preacher in Prague, together with twelve more men, was apprehended by a captain, carried into the common-hall, and there privately beheaded; but their blood running out, caused a tumult in the city, wherein some of the senators were slain, and others saved themselves by flight.

In 1459, there were divers godly people in Bohemia, ministers, nobles, and commons, who being much burdened in conscience about the superstitions in the church of Rome, obtained of George Pogiebracius, their king, a place in the hilly country, near to Silesia, to inhabit; where throwing off all superstitious practices, they applied themselves to the form of the primitive simplicity, calling themselves Brethren and Sisters. The beginning of this church displeased the devil, and therefore he raised a sudden and violent tempest to overthrow it; for the

fame of it being spread abroad, the priests in every pulpit stirred up the hatred of the people against them, crying out, "Blow out these sparks. Blow them out before they grow into a flame."

In 1461, one of their ministers, with some others of them, coming to Prague, to visit their friends, were betrayed. Upon the coming of some officers to apprehend them, the minister said to them all, "All that will live godly in Christ Jesus must suffer persecution;" therefore come forth, and follow us to prison, which they did. The king believing the slanders that were raised against them, as that they were attempting sedition, &c. commanded the aged minister to be tortured; but he falling into an ecstasy, felt no pain at all. The tormentors supposing him to be dead, took him down from the rack; but after some hours, he came to himself, and by the intercession of a friend, was dismissed.

Presently after there came forth from the king an edict, forbidding all pastors to administer holy services without ceremonies; and withal, threatening death to those that should administer to the brethren, called now by the hateful name of Piccards. The brethren hereupon were brought into great extremity, being like sheep destitute of shepherds. Presently came forth a new edict, that none of them should be suffered to live either in Bohemia or Moravia. Hereupon they were dispersed amongst the woods and mountains, dwelling in caves: where yet they were scarce safe, so that they were forced to make no fire, nor dress any meat, but in the night-time, lest the smoke should betray them. In the cold winter nights, sitting by the fire, they applied themselves to reading the Bible and holy discourses. When they went abroad in the snow to provide them with necessities, they went close together; and lest their foot-steps should betray them, the hindermost of them drew a great bough after him, to cover the prints of their feet.

These brethren chose certain elders by suffrage, to whom they promised obedience; and by the advice of

these elders, the chief of the brethren in Bohemia and Moravia were called together in a synod, in the mountains, to ordain ecclesiastical laws, whereby they should be governed. They appointed also sundry days for fasting and prayer for themselves, and their dispersed friends ; taking counsel from God's Word, concerning those things which were required to the fuller reformation, both of life and doctrine. That which most afflicted them was, want of pastors, not knowing where they should have new ones, after those were dead who then lived with them. After some debate, they resolved, that Christ had given this authority to his church, that such as were ordained themselves might ordain others. But yet some scruple arose, whether such as were but presbyters, might ordain without a bishop ? Wherefore they met together, and with fasting, prayers, and tears, they sought unto God to reveal his will unto them in this difficulty ; and afterwards making a scrutiny by lot, the Lord answered them, *That it was lawful for presbyters to ordain presbyters*, which occasioned great joy unto them.

These brethren then deliberated among themselves, whether they should join with the Waldenses in Moravia and Austria, and so be one people and one church with them. The purity of their doctrine and Christian conversation much pleased them ; but again, it much displeased them, that they concealed the truth, not openly professing it as they ought ; but to avoid persecution, they frequented the churches of the papists, and so communicated with idolaters. At last they concluded to admonish them of this evil ; and for this end, they sent some able men to them. The Waldenses answered, That to be in unity with them was very grateful ; and for the evils objected against them, they were not ignorant of them, nor would defend them, but rather would labour to amend them ; concluding, that they desired to have a fixed day of meeting with the brethren, in which they would take further order about their business. But before the time came. the papists, having some intelligence of it, raged

so violently against the Waldenses, that they burnt the chief of them at Vienna, and so persecuted the rest, that they were fain to provide for their own safety by flight.

In 1468, there came out a new decree against these Brethren, requiring all the nobles of Bohemia to apprehend as many as they could, within their several jurisdictions, and to proceed against them. Many therefore were apprehended and put into prison, where they were kept for a long time : but, through the wonderful working of God, the more the enemies laboured to put out this spark, the more it broke forth into a flame : for many of their peers submitted to the discipline of the Brethren, building churches for them in their towns and villages, so that in the year 1500, they had in Bohemia and Moravia, about 200 churches.

After the death of Pogiebracius, Uladislaus, a Polonian, succeeded in the kingdom ; to whom the Brethren wrote an apology, by reason of many foul accusations that were carried to him against them. This so exasperated their enemies, that they endeavoured, by a most impudent invention, to stir up the hatred of all men against them. The way they used, was this : they suborned a wicked villain to say, that he came from amongst them, and that he had been an elder ; but had therefore forsaken them, because in their meetings they used to blaspheme God, the Virgin Mary, and the saints, to mingle themselves incestuously, after the manner of the Adamites, to commit murder, and practise witchcraft, &c. They led this man through the towns and cities, as a spectacle. Then they brought him to the church, where they made him abjure his pretended errors, and beseech the people to pray for him, a most miserable sinner ; and warned them to take heed, by his example, of the Piccards. They also published his confession in writing, being confirmed with the seals and subscriptions of some deans and priests, causing them to be read in the churches. But the devil was fooled herein ; for the Brethren, by publick writings, did confute these lies, and the villain, trembling so often

to forswear himself, in the sight of the people, confessed at last, that he was suborned to do what he did, and that he knew not any of the Piccards. And thus far it made for good, that some, to make experience of so great villanies, began privately and disguised, to frequent the assemblies of the Brethren; and finding it to be far otherwise than it was reported, associated themselves with them, as with true Christians.

In 1488, Matthias, king of Hungary, banished the Brethren from Moravia, which caused some hundreds of them, taking a minister along with them, to go into Moldavia: whereupon the Brethren in Bohemia sent one of their elders to them, to exhort them unto patience under this persecution.

Shortly after the restless enemies of God and his church raised another persecution against the Brethren of Bohemia. For some bishops consulting together, suborned the queen, great with child, (so that they conceived the king would deny her nothing,) to request of him, that he would severely punish the Piccards. The king being displeased at her request, only nodded his head, but gave no answer at all. Yet the bishops, in his presence, began to draw up the edict. The king going into his chamber, fell down on his knees, and with tears besought God to forgive the guilt of those bloody counsels, and to grant no success to them; and God heard his prayers, and shewed some examples of his severe judgments on the authors of this conspiracy.

Two years after, the bishops by their importunity prevailed with the king, that sharp remedies should be used against those growing evils, as they pleased to call them; whereupon an edict was sent forth, that all the Piccards, without distinction of sex, age, or quality, should be slain. This mandate was brought to the assembly of the states at Prague, by two bishops. Divers of the chief nobles opposed it, so that eighteen months were spent in debate, before any thing was done; but at last, by the cunning artifice of the chancellor and his bloody asso-

ciates, it was confirmed by the greatest part of the nobility, in the presence of the king ; and a mutual confederacy was entered into, that it should be prosecuted with an armed power : but God following some of the chief contrivers of it with sundry judgments, it almost came to nothing.

In these troubles, most of the ministers were turned out of their places, so that they durst not preach nor pray, but in private. And a certain nobleman, having apprehended six of the Brethren, cast them into prison. When they were brought forth to be burnt, they went cheerfully to the fire. And when the chief officer, taking affection to one of them, offered him his life, if he would recant his error, proffering him a year's time to consider of it ; he paused awhile, but quickly answered, "It is too much, by such a delay, to lose my brethren's company ;" and so going along with them, they were burnt together. Shortly after, the chancellor, that had procured the passing of the edict against the Brethren, as he returned from the parliament, visiting a certain nobleman by the way, with great pleasure reported to him what was agreed upon against the Brethren. The nobleman, having a servant by, that was much addicted to the Brethren, asked him how he liked it ? The servant answered, "All are not agreed." The chancellor asked him, "Who durst oppose the states of the kingdom ?" The servant said, "There is one in heaven, who, if he were not present at your counsels, you have consulted in vain." The chancellor replied, "Thou knave, thou shalt find that as well as the rest." And rising up in a great fury, a carbuncle immediately rose upon his foot, which turned to a sore disease, whereof he died miserably. Another nobleman of these persecutors, as he was hunting, his horse threw him, and his arrow ran into his thigh, and came out of his loins, whereby he died a most painful death. Many others of them felt the like judgments of God, so that it grew into a proverb amongst them, "If you are weary of your life, attempt something against the Piccards."

- In the mean time the Brethren being much encouraged by letters from Luther, Bucer, and Capito, went on constantly ; and through God's mercy, a great number were added to the church, till the fatal year 1547 At which time Charles V putting the decrees of the council of Trent in execution, raised wars against the Protestant princes in Germany. His brother Ferdinand then solicited the Bohemians for aid ; but they refused it, in regard of their ancient league with the house of Saxony. But the German Protestants being overcome in war, Ferdinand entered Bohemia with an army, seized on Prague, imprisoned the principal nobles, barons, and citizens ; some he scourged, some he beheaded, and upon others he laid grievous fines, and of others he sequestered all their estates. Also he disarmed the city of Prague, took away their privileges, banishing some, whilst others went into voluntary exile.

Then the devil raised up some to lay all the blame upon the Brethren ; to which malicious suggestions the king giving heed, he first, by an open proclamation, commanded all their churches to be shut up, and then took away their peers, and banished them all out of his realms. When this thunderbolt came abroad, the Brethren agreed amongst themselves, that they would be more faithful to God and their consciences, than they had been ; and so by common consent, dividing themselves into three companies, they went into Poland ; and all of them had experience of an admirable Divine protection in their journey ; escaping some that might, and would have robbed them, but that they were restrained by God. Also in most places where they came, they found Christian commiseration and liberality of men, and courteous entertainment in Poland, though most of them were papists. Yet not long after, the bishop of that part where they were, got a mandate from the king to drive them away. Then they were forced to go into the farthest parts of Prussia, where they had a place of habitation allotted to them, by duke Albert of Brandenburg ;

and one Paul Speratus, a Protestant bishop, having conferred with them about their faith, was very courteous and charitable to them.

The next edict that Ferdinand set forth against the Brethren, was for the apprehending of all their ministers; whereupon some of them retired into Moravia; others, that they might be near their flocks, hid themselves in private places, and in the night-time visited the faithful. This continued for some years, but at last three of them fell into their enemies hands; yet one of them, through the admirable providence of God, escaped out of a deep dungeon in the castle of Prague, and fled to his brethren in Prussia. As he passed through Poland, he preached the gospel, and through God's mercy, many of the nobility and others were converted by his ministry; so that in a few years he erected twenty churches in Poland.

In 1549, Ferdinand published another decree for the extirpating both of the Brethren and Lutherans. About 200 ministers that had received ordination in Germany, or that were married, were banished out of the kingdom. The baron of Schanow, a man of much experience and learning, being apprehended under pretence of some conspiracy against Ferdinand, was imprisoned, examined, and laid on the rack. He, with an heroic indignation, bit out his tongue, and cast it away, and being asked why he did it, he wrote on the wall, "I did it because I would not by any tortures be brought to say any thing false against myself or others." He also in writing taxed the tyrannical proceedings against himself and other innocents, citing the king and his counsellors to appear and answer it before the tribunal of God, and so shortly after died.

After the death of Ferdinand, Maximilian succeeded, in 1564, who being of a peaceable disposition, could by no means be induced to decree that any should suffer for their faith. After him Rodolphus succeeded, in 1607, who treading in his father's steps, the church of Christ enjoyed peace under him, and pure religion so flourished through the whole kingdom, that there was scarce one in

a hundred, that did not profess the reformed religion. But alas! with liberty of religion, by little and little, men began to be licentious in their lives; and security so increased, that some began to presage, that an horrible tempest would again overwhelm them. After the death of Rodolphus, succeeded Matthias, who coming into Bohemia, called an assembly of the states, in 1617, but it being harvest time, few appeared. To those that appeared, Matthias said, that since he had no issue, he would adopt Ferdinand for his son, and desired he might be crowned. The orders assembled, affirmed, that a matter of that consequence could not be done in the absence of the united provinces. Cæsar urged, that what Bohemia should do would be confirmed by all the rest, and that it could not be deferred till another time. In brief, the orders protested, that the term of *receiving him king*, was new; that he ought first to be chosen, and then received: and some perceiving that there was no place for a free voice, departed; others, partly allured by promises, and partly deterred by threats, stayed, and were present at the coronation of Ferdinand; after which he presently went into Moravia, Silesia, and Lusatia, requesting to be received for their king.

Ferdinand the second, emperor of Germany, being thus obtruded upon the Bohemians, contrary to the ancient constitutions and customs of the kingdom, retired presently into Germany. Thereupon the enemies of the truth began openly to threaten the Protestants; and it appeared sufficiently that Ferdinand swore to the orders with his mouth, but in his heart to the pope. Presently after his departure, the popish bishops, clergy, and nobles, began to vex his subjects for religion, contrary to that assurance which the king had given them. They attempted the like in Prague; the Jesuits daily threatening that their liberty in religion should not last long. Then they strictly prohibited the Protestants from printing any thing, unless licensed by the chancellor of the kingdom, while they

themselves in the mean time divulged their own slanderous pamphlets and writings against the Protestants.

In the beginning of the year 1618, the governors of the university and consistory met together, having formerly had power so to do, and chose six persons, two barons, two knights, and two citizens, to consult what was best to be done in the time of their enemies' insolency. There presently came an injunction in Cæsar's name to inhibit them to call any together, and that if any man was called, he should not dare to appear upon the pain of high treason. Notwithstanding this, the greater part of the states met. Then new prohibitions and threats were spread abroad ; but the states being informed that those thunder-bolts came not from the king, but from the castle of Prague, their abused patience was turned into severity, and being guarded with a great troop, they went to the castle, and apprehended two of the chief authors of these troubles, and threw them headlong out of the castle windows, together with their secretary that was privy to all their designs. But God intending to preserve them to be the Bohemians' scourges, they, falling upon the grass, and great store of papers, caught no hurt in the fall. Hereupon a great tumult was raised in Prague, but the states appeased it. The first thing they did was to banish the Jesuits out of Bohemia, as the chief contrivers of the mischiefs. Then they wrote to Cæsar, that they had no intention against his royal majesty, but only to bring the disturbers of the publick peace to punishment, being authorised thereto by his majesty's letter, and bound by their protestation. Yet he resolved to revenge this treason (as he called it) by force of arms. The Bohemians, on the other side, resolved to defend themselves ; and for that end they chose thirty directors, and the Moravians and Silesians resolved to join with them, when they perceived religion to be the cause of the quarrel. This indeed was that which the enemies aimed at, and therefore they provoked the

Bohemians by all ways, that so they might make a conquest of Bohemia. For this end an imperial army presently entered the kingdom under Dampier, and a Spanish army under Bucquoy.

In the mean time the states resolved not to admit Ferdinand to be their king, for he was an open enemy both to their religion and liberties, and obtruded upon them without a due election. They also sent ambassadors to Francfort, (where the electors were met together to choose a new emperor,) desiring that Ferdinand might not be admitted amongst them as king of Bohemia. But notwithstanding all this, he was admitted and chosen emperor. The Bohemians, in the mean time chose Frederick, elector palatine, for their king. This more enraged their enemies, so that they sent another army under Maximilian of Bavaria, which took two Protestant towns by storm, and put all to the sword, and every where made a great slaughter among the Protestants. Then the imperial armies came to Prague, which was thereupon struck with a panic fear; and the Protestant army being overthrown in a set battle under the walls, and their new king fled, they delivered up the city to them; the conqueror promising to keep articles agreed upon, but he performed nothing less. By the subtle and slow proceedings, they did more mischief to the church of Christ than they had done lately by their outrageous fury.

A little before this, (when it was debated at Rome how they should deal with the Bohemians and Germans after the conquest,) it was resolved, that, seeing their former strong purges, which they had used to expel heretical humours, had not proved effectual, they should not proceed to put them to death, wherein they gloried as in martyrdom; but rather to weary them, and to change the hateful name of inquisition into the milder name of reformation. And, whereas there was a debate amongst the imperialists at Prague, whether all the Protestants should be presently banished; the negative was resolved on, because they would then carry much away with them, and so spoil the province.

and endure their banishment with greater ease ; therefore they concluded that they must first be squeezed, and deprived of their goods. For this end the soldiers at Prague were authorised to plunder the houses of the noblemen and citizens ; yet this was done at several seasons, and mostly in the night ; by which means, as the enemies boasted, they took from the Protestants some millions of gold. For indeed hither were all their riches brought in the time of war, as to a place of the greatest security. As this fell to the commanders' share, so the neighbouring places were exposed to the fury of the rest, the common soldiers robbing and spoiling villages, towns, and churches, burning and killing without any restraint.

Then commissioners were sent abroad, promising security to those noblemen, knights, corporations, and ministers, that would bring in a good sum of money to pay the army, which yet they would not receive as a free gift, but only desired to borrow it. Cæsar's protection was also promised to those that were liberal, the rest were threatened to be plundered by the soldiers. They set down also, what sums they expected from every one within such a time ; and promised, that when that was paid, the soldiers should be removed ; which made every one bring in their plate, money, and jewels, the more willingly. Commissioners were then sent to require certain cities, that belonged to the Protestant noblemen, to maintain the standing forces of the kingdom, and to contribute corn for their publick granaries. But whilst they were fed with a vain hope of lessening or removing the soldiers, there were more enlisted, which raised the taxes so high as was impossible for the people to pay. And there were some that were allured to deny the truth, in order to be eased of taxes and quartering of soldiers ; but this not being performed, they complained, that promise was broken with them. The Jesuits answered them, " You have no cause to complain, for we have provided for your souls, you ought therefore cheerfully to help the king by contributions, and quartering of soldiers. Here-

tics must be dealt with as madmen and children ; from whom if you desire to get a knife, you must shew them something else, though you never intend to give it them."

Thus the kingdom being emptied of gold and silver, counterfeit and adulterate money was coined in great abundance, that so the common people might rejoice in their plenty. But in the mean time, the soldiers would receive none but good money. Gold and silver also was raised to ten times the price of it, and on a sudden, the emperor diminished the value, making every piece of money to be worth but the tenth part ; whereby the Bohemians were more impoverished suddenly, than if they had lain under the burden of an army ten years. Then they sent abroad their commissioners of reformation, who in every town and village, endeavoured to bring Protestantism into disgrace, and highly to magnify and promote their own cause. The most eminent men for honour and estates were invited to apostasy. The inferior sort were either misled by their examples, or compelled by threatenings.

In the next place, the soldiers exercised barbarous tyranny against the ministers of Jesus Christ. One aged minister lying sick in his bed, they shot to death as he lay ; the next day, they robbed and murdered another ; as another was preaching to his people, they came into the church, and shot him dead. A nobleman and a minister, hearing of soldiers that were coming that way, conveyed themselves into a place of safety. The soldiers when they came, caught a schoolmaster, and binding him with cords, examined him, where the lord of that place and the minister were, and where they had hid their treasure ? He professed, that he knew neither the one nor the other. At this they beat him, first with their fists, then with their cudgels ; then stripping him naked, they so extremely singed him with fire, that at last he promised to bring them where the treasure was. Having brought them to a ditch full of stones, for greediness of gold, they emptied it, but finding nothing, they beat him

afresh. He then professing that he knew of no treasure, though through pain he had said so much ; they cudgelled him, and with clods beat him into the ditch, and buried him under the stones. Presently after they lighted on another minister, whom they so miserably tortured, that he died within five days. They likewise shamefully abused his daughters, whom they led away with them. After this, they met with another pastor, and because he had a better estate than the former, they tormented him the more. Sometimes they covered him over with hot burning coals, sometimes with ice, till they forced him to pay 1500 florins for his ransom. He died shortly after, through extremity of pain. They fetched another minister from his house, and miserably tortured him by twisting a cord about his head ; then they tied his hands behind him, and his legs with a small cord, intending the next morning to torture him with fire ; but in the night time, as he was earnest at his prayers, repeating these words, " In thee, O Lord, is my trust," he perceived his hands and feet to be miraculously loosed. Hereupon he got up, and went to the gate, where were three watchmen ; one of whom was standing with his hand on his sword, yet he passed by them undiscovered. When he came to the town gate, he was known by the soldier that stood centinel ; but he, being a Bohemian, was overcome by entreaty, and let him pass over the bridge, whereby he escaped.

In the year 1621, there came forth an edict, wherein the blame of all the former rebellion, (as they called it,) was laid upon the ministers of Prague, because they had stirred up, by their seditious and lying sermons, (as they were pleased to style them,) and by their writings, not only the common people, but the nobles also against Cæsar. Thereupon all the ministers within Prague were required within three days to depart out of Prague, and within eight days to depart out of the kingdom, and the provinces belonging thereto, and never to return again : And if any, under what pretence soever, should stay or

return, or if any should presume to harbour or conceal any of them, that both the one and the other should suffer death. Then the churches in Prague were given to the Jesuits. It cannot be expressed what lamentations there were amongst the people, because they were now forced to leave their pastors, and that for ever. Yet the German ministers, whereof there were two, were suffered to continue, in favour to the duke of Saxony. Then, as many as understood Dutch, flocked to their congregations ; which so vexed the Jesuits, that they obtained, not a *banishment*, but a *gracious dismissal* of them, as they would have it called. Multitudes of people followed them, with great lamentations and tears, and heard their farewell sermon in the field.

The next design was to remove the ministers out of other free cities, and the commissioners of reformation were employed herein. One of them coming to Slana with a troop of horse, went to church, where the minister (a godly and learned man) was reading the gospel. The commissioner sent a soldier to him to bid him give over ; but the minister still going on, he himself went to him with his sword drawn, crying out, “Thou foolish preacher, leave off thy babbling ;” and withal, he dashed the Bible out of his hand with his sword. At this the minister, lifting up his eyes, hands, and voice to heaven, often repeated, “Wo, wo, unto you ; you enter not into heaven yourselves, and forbid them that would. Wo, wo, wo unto you.” But they, mocking at these words, presently laid hands on him, jostling him to and fro ; whereupon he said, “I am ready to suffer all this, and what else you shall impose, for the name of my Lord Jesus Christ.” The people were much affrighted, but the chief magistrates, and many good women interceding for him, he was at last dismissed, upon condition that he should depart the city within three days.

In 1624, another decree came forth from the king, whereby all the ministers of the gospel were commanded to depart the kingdom by a peremptory day prefixed ;

because, as was alleged, they were seditious men, and seducers of the people. Herein they used this artifice; in most places, the edict was concealed till the time was almost or altogether elapsed; so that by this means, the ministers, not having time to communicate their counsels together, went into several provinces; and some were fain to hide themselves in caves and dens; but they either returned privately, and visited their auditors, or comforted such as came to them in the mountains and woods, preaching and administering the sacraments to them. As soon as the enemies understood this, they presently published a new decree, wherein a punishment was proposed to those that should conceal the ministers, and a reward to such as should betray them. Hereupon some of them were taken and cast into prison. Then the Jesuits, by all ways, solicited them to apostasy; and some, through fear of death, hunger, cold, the offensive smell of the prison, &c. were prevailed with to renounce their ministry. But most bore up courageously against all storms. Some again, by paying great fines, others by giving it under their hands that they would never return into Bohemia, were dismissed.

One godly minister was examined by tortures, when, where, and to whom he had administered the sacraments of baptism, or the Lord's supper? He answered, "He had neither laid down, nor slacked his ministry, which he received of Christ, and not from Cæsar. Being proffered life, if he would change his religion, he answered, "This body of mine is subject to corruption, and now it begins to decay already: why would you have me hinder it?" Being brought forth to execution, the crier proclaimed, with a loud voice, "That he was guilty of sedition." But he, with a loud voice, said, "I suffer for the truth of Christ." None of the citizens were suffered to accompany him; yea, they were threatened to be shot, if they did but look out at their windows: and that his voice might not be heard, the drums and trumpets sounded continually. As he was passing on, he cheerfully said, "This

day shall my soul be with Christ." The captain said, "With the devil in hell." The martyr replied, "No; but you, with your impious crew, will run headlong thither, except ye repent." Then his right hand, wherewith he gave the cup in the sacrament, was cut off; after that his head was cut off, his bowels taken forth, and wrapped in his shirt, his quarters set upon four stakes, and his head upon a fifth.

The next design of the enemies was against the nobles. And first they seized upon some that were of the rank of defenders of the kingdom's liberties; and then all those whom they knew to have done any thing for the common good of religion and liberty. These were about the number of fifty men, famous for learning, skill in military affairs, and prudence in government. All these were apprehended in their houses, in one night, and at one hour, when they suspected no danger, and were commanded by the captains to get up into the waggon. Some of them were carried to the castle of Prague, others to the mayor's house. The next day proclamations were issued out, requiring all those that had hid themselves, or departed the kingdom, to appear within six weeks. Upon their non-appearance, sentence was pronounced, "That all such as were guilty of treason, should forfeit goods, honours, and lives;" and then their names were set upon the gallows. The next day, sentence was pronounced against their heirs, "That all their goods should be confiscate to the king." Then he proceeded to the trial of the noblemen whom they had taken. Two apostate civilians were appointed to examine them, with some of the nobility, who tired them with a thousand impertinent questions, labouring to extort that from them whereof they were never guilty. One of them, not able to endure this, rending his garments, and opening his breast, said, "Tear this body into a thousand pieces, and search into my heart, and you shall find nothing there but what is in my apology. The love of religion and liberty, made us unsheath our swords; but seeing God

would have Cæsar prevail, and hath delivered us into your hands, his will be done."

After some time, when none of the noblemen would yield, or acknowledge themselves in an error, or sue unto them for mercy, they proceeded to sentence, which being passed, it was sent to Cæsar to consider of it. Cæsar was so troubled, that he slept not that night; and the next morning calling his confessor, he said to him, "I adjure thee upon thy conscience to tell me, whether I may with a safe conscience pardon these that are condemned? Or whether I should suffer execution to pass on them?" The confessor answered, "O, Cæsar, both are in thy power." Then he pardoned some, and left others for execution. Presently after they were brought out singly to hear their sentence, wherein some were condemned to death, others to perpetual imprisonment, others to banishment, and some were reserved to Cæsar's further pleasure. Then each sort of prisoners were carried to their several prisons; the noblemen into the inward prison of the castle; and the citizens to the mayor's house. As they went, some villains were suborned to insult over them, saying, "Why do they not now sing, 'The Lord reigneth?'" The wives, children, and kinsfolk of the condemned persons humbly petitioned for their lives; but answer was made, that all the favour which could be granted to them was, That they should have leave to bury their dead. In the evening, the condemned men, which were twenty-seven, had notice given them of the day wherein they were to suffer; and were advised to send for Jesuits and Capuchins, or a minister of the Augustine confession, for the good of their souls: but that they must expect no minister of the brethren, for that would not be granted them. The Jesuits and Capuchins, not staying till they were called for, flocked to them, using many persuasions, if they would turn. But God so strengthened them, that all those endeavours were in vain. Then some ministers of the Augustine confession were sent for, who spent that

time which remained in religious exercises, conferences, prayer, and singing of psalms ; and lastly, in administering the sacrament to them. They which were prisoners in the mayor's house, being called to supper the night before they were to suffer, comforted themselves, saying, " This is the last supper we shall eat on earth ; but to-morrow we shall feast with Christ in his kingdom." Whereupon a papist flouted, saying, " Hath Christ cooks for you in heaven."

It being told them that the noblemen were coming to the scaffold, in the market-place, where they were to suffer, they hastened to the windows, and entertained their fellow martyrs with singing the 44th psalm. The night after, they spent in psalms, prayer, and godly discourse, and mutual exhortations, saying, " Since it hath pleased God to call us, before others, to this honour of martyrdom, we hope by our constancy we shall confound the world, glorify Christ, and leave a good example to others." As they were singing the 68th psalm, wherein David prays to God to shew some token of good upon him ; one of them said, " Shew some token of good upon us, O God, whereby we thy servants, may be strengthened by thy goodness, and our enemies confounded." And being full of faith, he said further, " Be of good cheer, for even in this God hath heard your voice ; and to-morrow he will shew some wonderful sign whereby he will witness that we suffer for his cause." Early in the morning they washed their faces, and put on clean clothes, as if they had been going to a wedding, and cut off the collars of their doublets, that when they came to the scaffold there should be need of no new making ready. Then they earnestly prayed to God, That he would be pleased to confirm and strengthen both themselves and the people, concerning their innocence.

Presently after sun-rising a beautiful bow appeared, and compassed the heavens ; the ministers, soldiers, and many others, looking upon it. The martyrs, looking out of the window, saw a rainbow of an unusual colour, the

heavens being clear, and there having been no rain two days before : whereupon, falling upon their knees, they lifted up their hands and voices, praising God for this sign that he shewed from heaven. Immediately a gun was discharged as a warning for their being brought forth to execution. Then those champions of Christ encouraged one another, praying that each of them might be strengthened. And presently came troops of horse and foot to fetch them ; the streets, market-place, and houses being filled with multitudes of spectators. The martyrs, being called forth one by one, went to their death with an undaunted courage, hastening as if they had been going to a banquet. When one was called for, he thus took his leave of the rest : " Farewell, most loving friends. God give you the comforts of his Spirit, patience and courage, that what you have professed with your mouths you may confirm by your glorious death. I go before, that I may see the glory of my Lord Jesus Christ. You will follow me, that we may together see the face of our heavenly Father. At this hour all sorrow departs from me, and joyful eternity shall succeed it." Then the rest answered, " God above, to whom you are going, prosper your journey, and grant that you may pass happily from this vale of misery to that heavenly country. The Lord Jesus send his angels to meet you. Go, dear brother, into thine and our Father's house, and we will follow after. Presently we shall meet in the heavenly glory. And this we are confident of, through him in whom we have believed."

The first was the Lord SCHLIK, a man of admirable parts, about fifty years old. When he was condemned to be quartered, and his parts to be scattered here and there, he said, " The loss of a sepulchre is easy." Being exhorted by a minister to courage, he said, " I have God's favour, so that no fear of death troubles me ; I have formerly dared to oppose antichrist, and I dare now die for Christ." The Jesuits troubling him when he came to

the scaffold, he shook them off; and seeing the sun shining bright, he said, "Christ, thou Sun of Righteousness, grant that through the darkness of death, I may pass into eternal light." And so, having ended his prayers, he with constancy received the stroke. His head and right hand were hung on the high tower upon the bridge.

The lord WENCESLAUS was next, about 70 years old, famous for learning, religion, and his travels through divers countries. His house was formerly plundered, even to the wearing apparel. At which he only said, "The Lord hath given, and the Lord hath taken away." Being asked why he would engage himself in Frederic's cause, he said, "My conscience pressed me to do what I did. I am here, my God, dispose of me, thy servant, as seems good in thine eyes. I am full of years; take me out of this life, that I may not see that evil that is coming on my country." Afterwards, holding forth his Bible, he said, "Behold my Paradise! it never yielded me so much nectar and ambrosia as now." When he was sentenced, he said to the judges, "You have a long time thirsted for my blood; but know withal, you will find God, for whose cause we suffer, a revenger of innocent blood." A friar saying to him, "You are deceived in your opinion." He answered, "I rely not on an opinion, but on the infallible truth of God; for I have no other way but him, who said, 'I am the way, the truth, and the life.'" On the scaffold, stroking his long beard, he said, "My gray hairs! behold what honour remains for you, that you should be crowned with martyrdom!" And so praying for the church, his country, and his enemies, he commended his soul to Christ. His head was cut off, and set on the tower.

The next was the lord HARANT, a man that had gained much experience by his travels in Asia, Africa, and Europe. As he was going to suffer, he called the minister to him and said, "I much fear my wife's inconstancy in

religion, and therefore I desire you to exhort her to constancy, and not to suffer herself to be drawn away from her religion by any allurements ; for I assure her, that it is the infallible way to salvation." He withal bade him exhort her to use more clemency to his subjects, rather easing than overcharging them with burdens ; and likewise "to have a care of his children, and to bring them up in the pure religion." Being called to execution, he said, "I have travelled through many countries, through many barbarous nations, escaped many perils, by sea and land, and now suffer innocently in my own country ; and by them for whose sake I and my forefathers have spent our estates and lives. Father, forgive them !" Then he said, "In thee, O Lord, have I hoped, let me not be confounded." On the scaffold he said, "Into thy hands, O Lord, I commend my spirit. In thee, O Lord, have I trusted from my youth. I am confident I shall be accepted through that ignominious death of my Saviour." Then kneeling down, he said, "To thee, O Lord, I commend my spirit ; for thou, O God, just and true, hast redeemed me." And thus saying, he received the fatal stroke.

The next was CASPER KAPLITZ, a knight, aged 86. When the minister came to him, after his condemnation, he said, "See me, a miserable man ! who have often entreated my God that he would have mercy on me, and take me out of this miserable life ; but have not obtained it ; for God hath reserved me to be a spectacle to the world, and a sacrifice to himself. God's will be done ! My death indeed is disgraceful in the eyes of men, but glorious in the sight of God. For God will account that death precious in his sight, which I suffer for his glory and truth." When it was told him, that he might have his life, if he would ask pardon, he answered, "That he would ask pardon of him against whom he had committed many sins all his life, but he never offended the

prince ; and therefore would not give occasion to suspect that he had committed some crime, for which he had deserved death. God forbid, therefore, (said he,) that I should be separated from this holy company of martyrs." As he was going to the scaffold, being feeble with age, he said, "O my God, strengthen me, lest I fall down, and become matter of scorn to the enemies." Being crooked with age, his head hung down, so that the executioner could not come at his neck, whereupon the minister said to him, "My noble lord, as you have commended your soul to Christ, so now offer up your heavy head cheerfully to God, and lift up yourself towards heaven." Then, lifting up his head as well as he could, he said, "Lord Jesus, into thy hands, I commend my spirit." And so his head was cut off.

The next was PROCOPIUS DORZBECKI. After his condemnation, he said to the minister, "I have had a great contention all night with old Adam, so that it made me sweat again ; but thanks be to my God, by whom my soul hath overcome all temptations." He said further, "O Almighty God, strengthen thy servant, that I may not be made a derision of mine enemies by any fear of death ; and as thou wast wont to encourage the holy martyrs, so I strongly believe thou wilt comfort me." When he was called forth to execution, he said, "Thanks be to God, who doth now call me to himself. To him I have lived, and for him I will die : for my Saviour hath therefore died and risen again, that he might be Lord both of the living and the dead. I know that my soul shall live, and my body shall be raised like to his glorious body." Upon the scaffold, he said to the imperial judges, "Tell Cæsar, that we are now under his judgment, but he shall undergo more grievous, yet just, judgment of God." And seeing a gold medal hanging about his neck, wherein was engraven the coronation of Frederic, he delivered it to one that stood by, saying, "I require thee, that when my dear king Frederic shall recover the throne of this kingdom,

thou deliver him this, and tell him, that for his sake I wore it till my death; and that now I lay down my life willingly for God and my country."

The next was the lord FREDERIC DE BILE.

The next was the lord HENRY OTTO, a man of great judgment. Having received the sentence of condemnation, he said, "O Cæsar, do you indeed establish your throne by our blood? What account will you make to God of it in the day of judgment? Kill my body, disperse my members whither you please; yet do I believe that my Saviour will gather them together again, and clothe them with skin; so that with these eyes I shall see him, with these ears I shall hear him, with this tongue I shall praise him, and rejoice with this heart for ever." Afterwards, when the minister came to him, amongst other things, he said, "I was troubled, but now I feel a wonderful refreshing in my heart;" adding, with his hands lifted up to heaven, "I give thee thanks, O most merciful Saviour, who hast been pleased to fill me with so much comfort. Oh! now I fear death no longer. I will die with joy." As he was going to the scaffold, he said to the minister, "I am sure Jesus Christ will meet my soul with his angels, that he may bring it to an everlasting marriage, where I shall drink of a new cup, a cup of joy, for ever. This death, I know, shall not separate me from him." Upon the scaffold, lifting up his eyes to heaven, he said, "Behold, I see the heavens open," pointing with his hand to the place; where others also observed a certain brightness, which dazzled their eyes. After he had prayed silently, he said, "Into thy hands, O Lord God, I commend my spirit, have pity on me, through Jesus Christ, and receive me, that I may see thy glory."

The next was DIONYSIUS ZERVIVS, formerly a papist. Being told of the promises made to the people of God,

concerning the *pardon of sins*, and *assurance of salvation* to those that believe in Christ, he struck his breast, and with tears in his eyes, cried out, “ This is my faith, and in this I die. I rest in the grace of Christ, and I trust in my God, that he will graciously accept my contrite spirit.” Upon the scaffold, the Jesuits exhorted him ; but he listened not to them, but turned from the crucifix, and falling down on his knees, he prayed softly. Then looking up towards heaven, he cried, “ They can take away the body, but they cannot take away the soul. O Lord Jesus, I commend that unto thee :” and so he ended his life, in the 56th year of his age.

The next was an aged man, about 70 years old, that had been long lame. At the time of his death he said, “ O Lord Jesus, who being innocent, didst undergo death, grant that I may die the death of the righteous, and receive my soul into thy hands.”

The next was the lord of RUGLIA, a man of excellent parts, and full of zeal for God. When he was adjudged to die, he said, “ That it was more welcome to him, than if the emperor had given him his life, and restored him to his estate, with addition of more.” Afterwards he said to the minister, “ God is our witness, that we fought for nothing but the liberty of religion ; and in that we are overcome and condemned to die, we acknowledge and find that God will not have his truth defended by our swords, but by our blood.” When he saw divers called out before him he said, “ What is the matter, my God ? Thou knowest that I resign myself wholly unto thee. Ah, do not despise thy servant, but make haste to take me away.” And when the sheriff came for him, he rejoiced, and said, “ Praised be my God, that I shall now be taken out of the world, that I may be with Christ ;” and so he went to meet him. On the scaffold he comforted himself with that promise : “ Father, I will, that where I am, there my servants be

also, to behold that glory which thou gavest me.' "Therefore, (said he,) I make haste to die, that I may be with Christ, and see his glory."

The next was VALENTINE COCKAN, about 60 years old. During his imprisonment, he was full of heavenly discourse, and at the scaffold, said, "Grant me, O God, to pass through this valley of death, that I may presently see thee; for thou knowest, my God, that I have loved thy word. Bring me, O God, through the paths of life, that I may see fulness of joy in thy presence." Kneeling down, he said, "Into thy hands, O Lord, I commend my spirit."

The next was TOBY STEFFICK. He spent most of the time of his imprisonment in silent sighs and tears. Before his execution, he said, "I have received many good things of the Lord, all my life long; shall I not receive this cup of affliction? I embrace the will of God, who, by this ignominious death, makes me conformable to his Son, and by a narrow way brings me to his heavenly kingdom. I praise God, who hath joined me undeservedly to these excellent men, that I might receive with them the crown of martyrdom." When he was called to die, he said, "My Saviour being about to die, said, 'Father, not as I will, but as thou wilt: thy will be done:' shall I, therefore, who am but a worm, yea, dust, and a shadow, contradict his will? Far be it from me. Yea, I come willingly, my God. Only have mercy on me, and cleanse me from my sins, that no spot or wrinkle may appear in me; but that I may be pure in thy sight." And so he lifted up himself full of sighs, yet full of hope, and as he was praying, rendered up his spirit unto God.

Then was JESSENIUS, a doctor of physic, called forth, a man famous for piety and learning all over Europe. Having heard his sentence, he said, "You use us cruelly and disgracefully; but know, that our heads shall be

buried, which you ignominiously expose for a spectacle." This afterwards came to pass, in 1631, when the king of Sweden with his army took Prague, and caused the martyrs' heads to be taken from the tower, and solemnly and honourably buried. When the hangman required his tongue to cut it off, he willingly put it out, and falling upon his knees, as he was praying, his head was cut off, and his body afterwards quartered, and set upon four stakes.

The next was CHRISTOPHER CHOBER, who much encouraged his fellow-martyrs, and then cited the words of Ignatius. "I am God's corn, and shall be ground with the teeth of wild beasts. So we, (saith he,) are God's corn, sown in the field of the church; and that we may be for our Master's use, we are now to be torn by beasts. But be of good cheer, the church is founded in blood, and hath ever increased by blood. God is able to raise up a thousand worshippers of himself out of every drop of our blood. For though truth suffers now violence, yet Christ reigns, and no man shall throw him from his throne." Being called to execution, he said, "I come in the name of my God; neither am I ashamed to suffer these things for his glory, for I know in whom I have believed. I have fought the good fight of faith, and finished my course." Then praying, "Into thy hands, Lord, I commend my spirit," he received the crown of martyrdom.

JOHN SHULTIS was next, who said on the scaffold, "Why art thou so sad, O my soul? Hope thou in God, for thou shalt yet praise him. The righteous seem to die in the eyes of fools, but indeed they go to their rest. Lord Jesus, thou hast promised that whoso comes to thee, thou wilt not cast off. Behold I now come! look on me! pity me! pardon my sins, and receive my soul to thyself!" Then kneeling down, he said, "Come"

come, Lord Jesus! and do not tarry!" and so he was beheaded.

The next was MAXIMILIAN HOSTIALIC, a learned and pious man. After his condemnation he was sadder than the rest; and being asked by the minister the reason of it, he said, "The sins of my youth now come into my mind. For though I know, that nothing remains to condemn me, who am in Christ Jesus; yet I know that God exerciseth justice, as well as mercy, towards his own." ' Being called to death, he said, "Look upon me, O Lord, my God, and enlighten mine eyes, lest I sleep the sleep of death; and lest mine enemies say, we have prevailed." Afterward repeating the words of Simeon, "Now let thy servant depart in peace, for mine eyes have seen thy salvation," he was beheaded.

The next was JOHN KUTNAUR, who, when the Jesuits began to speak to them, said, "Pray you, trouble not our consciences; we are sufficiently furnished against the fear of death; we need none of your help." And when they would have proceeded, he said, "Why do you create unprofitable labour to yourselves, and trouble to us?" Upon their saying one to another, "They are hard rocks, and will not suffer themselves to be removed:" he answered, "You say true. Christ is an hard rock, and we are firmly fixed on him." Afterwards he said to his fellow-martyrs, "I understand that I must be hanged; but whether by the neck, middle, or feet, I neither know nor care. This only is my grief, that my blood may not be mingled with your's, that we might be made one sacrifice to God." When he was called forth to execution, he was besprinkled with the tears of his friends, to whom he said, "Play the men, brethren, and refrain from weeping. I go before, but it is but a short time and we shall meet in heavenly glory." When he was upon the ladder, he said, "I have plotted no treason,

committed no murder, I have done nothing worthy of death ; but I die because I have been faithful to the gospel, and my country. O God, pardon mine enemies, for they know not what they do. But thou, O Christ, have pity on me, for I commit my soul unto thee."

The next was SIMEON SUSSICKEY, who, when he saw the Jesuits coming, said to his companions, "These birds of prey are flying hither, but they shall not feed on these carcasses, but return hungry ; for God hath promised to preserve his own as the apple of his eye, and therefore he will not suffer us to be seduced." The last night he had a great conflict with the flesh, because the Scripture saith, 'Cursed is every one that hangeth on a tree.' But when the minister told him, that that curse was taken away by the death of Christ, he was well satisfied.

The next was NATHANIEL WODNIANSKEY, who, when the Jesuits solicited him to apostasy, said to them, "You take away our lives under pretence of rebellion, and not content with that, you seek to destroy our souls. Glut yourselves with the sight of our blood, and be satisfied with that ; but we shall leave a sting in your consciences." Afterwards his own son saying to him, "My father, if hope of life should be proffered to you, upon condition of apostasy, I pray you be mindful of keeping your faith to Christ ;" he answered, "It is very acceptable to me, my son, to be exhorted to constancy by you ; but what makes you suspect me ? I rather advise and exhort you to follow your father's steps, and to exhort your brethren, sisters, and children, to that constancy whereof I shall leave you an example ;" and so he patiently ended his life.

The next was WENCESLAUS GISBITZKY, to whom were given great hopes of his life. The minister fearing satan's stratagems, advised him to take heed of security and prepare himself for death. Upon the scaffold he fell on

his knees, and said, "We prostrate ourselves before thee, O eternal Father, do not forsake us. Have pity on us, through Jesus Christ. We would say more, but we are not able to express it. Into thy hands do we commend our souls; perfect that which thou hast begun to work in us. Render to us our inheritance, that we may sing, 'Holy, holy, holy, Lord God of hosts.'" And so in the midst of his prayers he ended his life.

After the execution of these holy martyrs, all their goods were confiscated, as also of those that were driven into banishment. Then was a proclamation published, wherein a general pardon of all crimes was offered to all the inhabitants of the kingdom; only their goods were confiscated, either in whole or in part, which must be brought into his majesty's treasury, to pay his debts contracted in this necessary war. Besides which they were to make a confession of their faults in a form, prescribed before cardinal Lichtenstein, who was Cæsar's viceroy; and if any did not appear he should lose this favour. Hence it was that the enemies publicly boasted, that none were punished, but such as were convicted by their own confession. Then by an edict all were forbidden to diminish, or waste their goods, by selling them, or conveying them over to others; and if any man should send away his goods to another place, all should be lost; and whosoever received such goods, should pay so much of his own to the emperor. Then they proceeded to take from the Protestants all their castles, towns, and villages, whereby they were deprived of their livelihoods, and driven into strange places. Some were forced to cast themselves upon their popish friends; others to become servants to their destroyers. Afterwards all their personal estates were sequestered; scarce so much as a garment being left them, wherewith to cover their nakedness. And lest any man should have money at use, they commanded all to bring in all their bonds, without concealing the least, upon pain of losing all their debts.

And when any considerable sum was brought in, the king's treasurers were at hand, who, protesting that the emperor had need of it to defray the charges of the war, took it away, giving the party a note, that so much was due to him from the emperor, which yet was never repayed.

Thus the Protestants being commanded to depart the kingdom, the popish party divided their goods and lands amongst themselves; and as it lay commodious for any of them, they added this or that village, town, castle, or lordship to their own; but the greatest part fell to strangers' shares, Spaniards, Italians, or Germans, who were commanders in the imperial army, instead of their pay. If any widows or orphans had lands or goods not taken from them, their popish neighbours would either circumvent them by craft, or weary them out by quartering soldiers upon them, and so forced them to sell their lands, at what prices themselves listed, neither did they pay that. Then the emperor called for the ancient charters of the kingdom, which he immediately rent, and threw into the fire.

Most of the ministers were banished; yet the noble lord Charles de Zerotine did not only retain his household chaplain, but also sustained many others privately in their caves with bread and water; and fearing no man, he not only gave liberty to his own subjects, but to divers others in neighbouring places, to resort to the holy exercises performed in his castle. Hereupon the enemies, by a new edict, published, that all such barons, noblemen, and citizens, as kept any Protestant tutor for their children, should presently dismiss him; otherwise he should be taken and punished. Also by another edict all the Protestants were cast out of the protection of the laws, and were to have no benefit by them.

The enemies, being every day puffed up with their successes and victories, made a decree, that all Protestant noblemen should depart out of the kingdom; and the emperor published a proclamation, that, to prevent all

divisions which were dangerous to the kingdom and magistrates, he was resolved no longer to tolerate any of the inferior, much less of the superior estates of either sex, who was infected with heretical errors ; and withal, he granted to the superior states the term of six months, wherein to learn the Roman Catholic faith. For that end he appointed commissioners of reformation to instruct them, requiring them to be obedient to his will, and to be diligently instructed by them ; otherwise they should not be suffered to stay in the kingdom, much less to possess their goods ; and therefore he required all those which, at the end of the term of six months, did not turn catholics, immediately to depart the kingdom, and never to return. Hereupon they who heartily loved religion presently separated themselves by banishment. Others solicited Cæsar by petitions, either to change the decree, or to grant them a longer time. Others there were, who, thinking to deceive the emperor and pope, bought false testimonies of the priests, that they had made a confession, and communicated in one kind, and so made shew of a dissembled apostasy, thereby to avoid banishment. Then was the forenamed act extended to widows, and the Protestants' children were commanded to be delivered to the care and instructions of Catholics, or else to be shut up in monasteries. This caused extreme grief and groans, when noblemen's sons and daughters, even maids that were marriageable, were pulled from their parents and friends, and thrust into Jesuits' colleges, or monks' cells ; their goods being also taken from them, and committed to papists.

By the cunning craftiness of those seducing reformers, many unwary persons were deceived, being told by them, that they might hold their former opinions ; only for order's sake they must acknowledge the Roman bishops to be the visible head of the church. Hereby the simpler sort, thinking that they were not constrained to any other faith, but what they had formerly learned, thought they might with a safe conscience, promise that outward

obedience. And if these seducers saw any one of more nobility than ordinary, they presently suggested to them, how much it grieved Cæsar, that those ancient families, which had formerly been the ornaments and props of the kingdom, should cast themselves out into banishment through their unadvisedness, when they might remain and flourish under the favour both of God and Cæsar. This ruined many of the Protestant nobility, who preferred their earthly, before the heavenly country. Yet about a hundred families, leaving inheritances, and all their possessions, went away. Amongst these was the lord de Zerotine, who rather chose to suffer affliction with the people of God, than to enjoy his earthly possessions.

Many of these Protestants being gone into Silesia, and Lusatia, the emperor sent forth a proclamation, that they should depart from thence, or be brought to punishment; requiring them likewise to send back their children, which they had carried with them, upon penalty of losing all the goods which any of them could demand in his country. Soon after he published another edict, wherein he required all the Protestant wives of the Catholics, either to reform, or go into banishment. But as many of the chief officers of the kingdom had Protestant wives, and would not endure that they should be thus divorced from them, he set forth another edict, whereby they were tolerated till the death of their husbands, and then they should be excluded their inheritances, and sent into banishment. And he required in the mean time that they should absent themselves from all festival and nuptial solemnities, or else should take the lowest places after the Catholics.

Some of the Protestants who had fled, privately returned, and others stayed to make the best of that little substance they had left. Proclamation was therefore sent out that all such should be apprehended and imprisoned. And all such as had harboured any of them, were warned upon allegiance, to appear before the chief officers in the castle of Prague; and it was required that if any knew

where any of them lay hid, they should secretly and suddenly attack them, and bring them to prison.

Then the emperor repealed and disannulled divers of the ancient statutes of the kingdom, that made most for the people's liberties ; as concerning their free election of a king, and the like, that he might the better oppress them. Then all the free citizens of mean quality were appointed to determine all businesses, and to be the chief officers ; and to those were added some of the chief of the soldiery, the better to procure subjection. They also impoverished these cities by taxes and contributions ; which continued divers years, and were extorted by the soldiers' power.

After the taking of the city of Prague, Papists were examined upon oath to declare what they knew or heard that the Protestants had spoken or done against Cæsar. Then an act was published to the rest of the citizens, that though they had forfeited their whole estates, yet they should not be wholly sequestered, but every one should contribute part of his estate to support the army. All men also were required upon oath to discover what their estates were ; according to which they were enjoined to pay a ransom. Yea, all trading was inhibited to such as were not Catholics.

In the city of Kuttensburg were abundance of silver mines, and the inhabitants generally were zealous professors. Hereupon, as soon as they began to be molested for religion, the king's revenue began to diminish, most of the workmen giving over the work. The king seeing this, farmed his revenues to the citizens for ten years, promising under his hand and seal, that in the interim they should not be troubled with soldiers, nor for their religion. But satan envying their place and liberties, stirred up the Jesuits, to move the king to break his covenant within four months after. Then the soldiers were sent thither again, and they began again to be questioned about their religion. The citizens, astonished at this manifest breach of covenant, humbly petitioned

that no violence might be offered them, which would overthrow the metal-works. Instead of an answer, the mayor and chief aldermen had twenty musqueteers apiece put into their houses upon free quarter. The soldiers domineered exceedingly, wasting these men's estates by their profuseness, and abusing them divers other ways at their pleasure ; yet the patience of the one overcame the tyrannical behaviour of the other. These godly men provided for the soldiers as long as they could ; but when all was gone, some of them withdrew themselves from danger by flight ; others resigned their houses and goods, and delivering the keys to them, departed. When this prevailed not, the task of reforming that city was committed to Don Martin, who, accompanied with a troop of cuirassers, and himself brandishing a naked sword, entered into the city. The citizens trembled at his coming, having heard of his cruelty at other places ; whereupon, that very night, multitudes of them betook themselves to flight, thinking to hide themselves in neighbouring villages. This caused Don Martin to get an edict, that none should harbour exiles upon a great penalty. The year after, a senate at Kuttensburg was elected out of the apostates. The mayor being a base and illiterate person, all the citizens were still oppressed with soldiers, so that they either fled with their wives and children, leaving all behind them ; or else were obliged to submit their necks to the antichristian yoke.

The next city whither these reformers went was Boli-slavia, where the orthodox religion had continued for 200 years, and it was the principal seat of *The Brethren*. There they ejected their ministers, and placed in their rooms two crafty friars, who by all means sought to pervert the people ; but when this prevailed not, they brought in three companies of soldiers to quarter upon them. Then some of the citizens were banished ; others cast into prison ; and three of the principal were sequestered, to strike a terror to the rest. When the citizens still

remained constant, they were all warned to appear in the court. Being come thither, they were all shut up in rooms, and called out one by one. The first was the town-clerk, a weak and timorous man. They had set a ruffian in a corner, with a sword in his hand to meet him, whom the fearful man seeing, he was so terrified, that he promised to turn Catholic. They so rejoiced at this beginning, that they dismissed all the rest, only bidding them consider of it, and do after the town-clerk's example. Among these there were two burgo-masters, learned men, who exhorted their fellow-citizens not to be affrighted with these terrors. Afterwards one of them being called for, was partly with threats, and partly with flatteries so wearied out, that at last he took some time to consider of it. The other being called for, and an old man proposing the other's example to him, he spit in his face, saying, "Traitor, is this your constancy?" And so both he, and the rest of the citizens remained unmovable as a rock. The first burgo-master, considering what he had done, and being ashamed of it, came and gave them such a positive answer, that he was sent to prison with the rest.

In the city of Litomericia, in 1517, there was an unanimous agreement amongst the citizens, that none should be made free amongst them, but such as professed the reformed religion. This continued inviolate for a hundred years; when two Jesuits, suing to be made freemen of the city, and being denied, entered their complaint in the Chancery. Then some of the principal aldermen were summoned to the court, and kept for nine weeks, till by threats they had forced them to make these two men free. Five months after, one of them was made an alderman, that so they might have their spies in every place. There were also cunning seducers sent thither to withdraw the people from their religion. When this prevailed not, in 1525 they took the names of every citizen, commanding them constantly to go to

mass ; or else for every omission they should forfeit five pounds. Then bringing in more soldiers, they commanded all the inhabitants to be present at the idolatrous procession ; and because the recorder came not, they sent a whole company of soldiers to plunder his house, who also abused and threatened his wife. The year after they brought in more soldiers, quartering them in the principal men's houses, in some ten, in some twenty, and in others thirty, who abused them exceedingly ; but, through God's assistance, they bore it with such admirable patience that the enemies were weary of plaguing them, and began to be more moderate. However, they published an order, that whosoever would not turn Catholic, should, with their wives and children, depart the city and kingdom by a certain day ; whereupon many of them removed to Misnia.

Don Martin went also to Bidsove, ten miles from Prague, attended with his soldiers, and assembling the citizens, he made an oration to them to turn Catholics. They answered, "That they could not unlearn that in an hour, which they had been learning all their life." This so enraged Martin, that he assaulted the man that answered for all the rest with a club, beating him extremely, and then commanded the officer to carry him out of the city, not suffering him so much as to visit his house before his departure. This so terrified the rest, that they promised to be taught within a certain time. There were some who thought to save themselves by flight. These sent their wives and some of their goods privately before, with whom went also some godly widows. Martin having intelligence of it, sent some soldiers after them, that stripped them of their goods, and brought the women back and cast them into fetters, refusing to release them, till both they and their husbands turned Catholics.

At Tusta, a chief officer of the kingdom solicited the citizens to turn Catholics, which they refusing to do, he complained of it to the Jesuits at Prague. Upon this,

Don Martin was sent thither, who entering the city, sent his soldiers into the senators' houses, licensing them to abuse them at their pleasure; so that, in a short time, many were forced to apostasy. Then that other officer set a great fine upon the city, because they turned Catholics for another man's sake, and would not for his. Thus the poor Protestants were abused on every hand to satisfy the lusts of these tyrants.

Then another nobleman, with a band of soldiers, went to the city of Rokizan, and tyrannically abused the people for their religion; forbearing no kind of insolence that they could think of. Amongst other projects, this was one; he caused all the citizens to write their names in three books: in the first, such as were already Catholics, (which were but six apostates;) in the second, such as would become apostates within a fortnight, which were very few: in the third, such as absolutely refused, and so were accounted opposite to God and Cæsar; and in this were almost all the names; which so enraged him, that he resolved to use all manner of cruelties, saying, "That they deserved the cross, the wheel, yea, and hell itself." Then he commanded all the citizens to come to the church the next day, to receive the sacrament in one kind. When he came to church he found few or none there. Then he ran through the streets, and into the houses, driving all that he met with to the church with his stick. When he came thither again, he espied one John Felix, a chief citizen, but a Calvinist; he therefore fell upon him with a knotty club, beating him about the head, shoulders, and hands, till he was all in gore blood; and then he said to him, "Get thee hence thou beast, with thy cursed Calvin-blood." Then he raged against the other citizens, cursing them, beating some, and spitting in the faces of others. From one of the grave citizens he pulled off his beard, and strewed it on the floor. After this, he again sent word to Felix, that except he changed his mind by the morrow, he would act a new tragedy with him; but that night he escaped,

leaving behind him his dear wife and children, and an aged mother, 80 years old. Then the earl imprisoned his wife, and sequestered his estate, and forced the rest of the citizens to subscribe, that they freely, and with all readiness of mind, embraced the Catholic religion.

They entered the city of Prachatice by force, and slew the mayor, who was bringing them the keys, together with 1600 men, women, and children, sparing none but such as fled, or hid themselves in secret places. The carcasses they left unburied for several days, all dirty, and shamefully naked. Afterwards, when the city began again to be inhabited, the commissioners of reformation came thither, promising them, that if they would turn Catholics, they should have their liberties restored to them; but if they refused, they should be restrained from all trading. When this prevailed not, they thrust men and women, young and old, into prisons, where they miserably afflicted them for four months together. They used the like cruelty to all other cities, where they practised all manner of impostures, deceits, tyrannies, and impudent practices, till they had rooted out the reformed religion, and set up their idolatrous and superstitious worship instead of it.

Then came out an edict, that whosoever refused to turn papist, whether men or women, young or old, bond or free, their names should be returned to the council of state, who would give instructions what should be done with their persons and estates. Marriage, burial, and baptism, were forbidden to the Protestants, and if any did it privately, they were imprisoned, and not dismissed without apostasy, or a great fine. Then all trading and means of getting of their living, was inhibited, and at last, buying of food, so that the poor people being oppressed with hunger and want, were either forced to flee, or apostatize. They fetched the countrymen out of their houses, yea, out of their beds, by troops of soldiers, driving them like beasts before them in the sharpest cold, and filled the common prisons, towers, cellars,

stables, yea, and hog-styes with them ; where they were killed with hunger, cold, and thirst.

In some places they made holes, and knocked them full of iron spikes, wherein those that were shut, could neither sit nor stand, but bending and crooked. It was not possible that any man could endure this posture above two or three hours ; their sinews all this while trembling, their members quivering, and their hearts ready to faint with anguish, so that some were forced to promise to turn Catholics ; others that refused, were brought back to torture. When they desired to die, rather than forsake their religion, it was answered, "That the emperor thirsted not after their blood, but rather after the welfare of their souls." To others they said, "Oh, you affect the glory of martyrdom ! but you are base knaves, and are unworthy to have any thing to glory in." There were many who would have died in the maintenance of the Christian faith, but there were none that would inflict death upon them. For these cruel tyrants, brought up in the devil's school, would not kill the body but the soul, and therefore they sought by lingering and continual punishments to bring them first to stagger, and then to deny the truth.

In some places they shut up the people in the church, and forced them to receive the sacrament in one kind ; and if they would not fall down to the host, they used to beat their legs with clubs, till they fell down. Some they imprisoned and racked several times, to force them to a confession. They set open the mouths of others with gags, and thrust the host down their throats. In other places they forced the people, not only to abjure the cup, but to throw it down, and to spit upon it, and to tread it under foot. If any to avoid this tyranny, fled into the woods, and secret places, hunger drove them out again, whereby they became a prey to their adversaries. If they went to neighbouring places, some or other would betray them. Edicts were also published,

forbidding all to entertain such as fled, upon pain of forfeiting a hundred pieces of silver for every night's entertainment. Yet these miserable people could not go out of the kingdom, not being acquainted with any other language. Besides, they were told that ere long the like tragedy should be acted every where.

Four men of Kossenburg continuing constant after long imprisonment, they were first exposed to the cold, for five weeks together, in the depth of winter. Then for nine days they were pined with hunger, having only a small portion of bread to keep them alive; and being forced to drink their own urine. When they were threatened with harder usage, if they did not turn, they answered, "We willingly embrace all afflictions, famine, hanging, burning, or any thing, rather than we would sin against God." Thereupon, only a mouthful of bread, and a draught of water, were given them twice a week. Then they were parted asunder; and one of them was thrust into the sink of the prison, another into a furnace, and none permitted to visit them; and when nothing would prevail, they set a fine upon them, and banished them. Some were kept in prison and bonds till they died. One was kept in a filthy prison till his feet rotted off; and yet he passed away the time with singing psalms, as if he enjoyed all manner of delights. A certain man, being tired out with imprisonment, was released, upon his promise of turning Catholic. Immediately after this, (as himself wrote,) God chastened him for his fault, holding his conscience captive for a whole year together, so that he could have no hope in God's mercy. All this while he cried unto God night and day, watering his bed with tears, because he thought himself damned. "At last God (saith he,) sent his angel to me, and I saw his glory brighter than the sun, and I had God's Spirit bestowed upon me." After this he was apprehended, beheaded, and quartered.

When pope Martin perceived, that notwithstanding all that had been done to quench the light of the gospel,

the professors of it increased daily in Bohemia, he sent the cardinal of Winchester, an Englishman, into Germany, to stir up the emperor and German princes to make war against the Bohemians. Hereupon three armies were levied, one under the duke of Saxony; the second under the marquis of Brandenburg; and the third under Otho, archbishop of Triers. These three armies entered Bohemia three different ways, and at last joining all in one, besieged the city of Misna, which, but the night before, was won from the papists by one Prichicho, a learned and zealous Protestant; and therefore the popish armies resolved to take that place before they marched any further. But as soon as news came that the Protestants had raised an army, and were hastening to the relief of Misna, they speedily fled, before ever they saw an army, leaving their ensigns of war, and a great booty behind them. The cardinal meeting them in their flight, used all the arguments that possibly he could, with the nobles and captains, to turn them back again, magnifying their number and prowess, and vilifying their enemies; but when nothing would prevail, he himself was glad to accompany them in the flight. Presently the Bohemians pursuing, fell upon their rearward, which made their flight much more fearful and disordered than it was before; neither did they cease fleeing, till the Bohemians left pursuing them.

The emperor, hearing of this shameful flight, went to Nuremberg, and by the assistance of the cardinal, a new army was raised, under the command of Frederic, marquis of Brandenburg, which entered Bohemia one way, and another great army under Albert, archduke of Austria, which entered another way. All the chief nobles and bishops in Germany were in these armies, with 40,000 horsemen, besides foot. The Bohemians, as soon as they heard of their enemy's approach, gathered their host with all speed to encounter them, but God fought for them. For before the Bohemians came near them, the popish army was struck with such a mar-


vellous fear, that they began most shamefully to run away. The cardinal wondering at it, went up and down to the captains, exhorting and encouraging them, telling them, that they were to fight for their lives, honour, religion, and the salvation of souls. But notwithstanding all he could say and do, the ensigns were suddenly snatched up, and every man ran headlong away, so that the cardinal was forced to do the like. The Protestants encouraged hereby, speedily pursued them, and obtained a very great booty. This so astonished both the pope and emperor, that afterwards they sought rather by subtilty to entrap them, than by force to compel them, to forsake their religion.

THE PERSECUTION

OF THE

CHURCH OF GOD IN FRANCE,

Which began in the Year 1524.



IN the year 1209, there were certain learned men in France, disciples of one Almeric, at Paris, who, upon examination, was found to hold, "That God was no otherwise present in the sacramental bread, than in any other: That it was idolatry to build altars to saints, or to worship their images: That the pope was antichrist, and Rome Babylon: That God was not seen in himself, but by his creatures." When they could not be drawn

to recant these tenets, they were condemned to be burnt at Paris ; which was accordingly executed. The body of their master was digged up out of the church-yard, and buried in the field.

In 1524, at Melden, in France, there was one JOHN CLARK, who set up a bill upon the church-door, against the pope's pardons, lately come thither; wherein he called the pope antichrist. For this he was apprehended, and adjudged to be whipped three several days, and then to have a mark burnt in his forehead, as a note of infamy. His mother, a good woman, when she saw her son so scourged and branded, encouraged him, crying with a loud voice, "Blessed be Christ, and welcome be these marks for his sake." Afterwards he removed from thence, and went to Metz, in Lorrain, where, for some time he followed the calling of a wool-carder. All the people of this city used, once a year, to go forth into the suburbs, to worship some idols there. John Clark, inflamed with zeal, went the night before, and broke down all those images. The next morning, when all the clergy and people came to the place to worship them, they found all their idols broken upon the ground. This set all in a tumult, and there was great searching after the author of this deed. John Clark was quickly suspected and apprehended; who, at once confessed the fact, and told them the reasons why he did it. The people hereupon cried out against him, in a great rage. He professed the pure doctrine of the Son of God before the judges; and therefore was condemned to a cruel death, which he sustained with admirable patience and constancy.

Not long after, Mr. JOHN CASTELLANE, doctor of divinity, born at Tournay, being, through God's mercy, called to the knowledge of the truth, became a zealous, fervent, and faithful preacher of it in divers places. At last he was taken prisoner by the cardinal of Lorrain's

servants, by whom he was carried to the castle of Nomeny, where he endured much cruelty; yet still he persevered in confessing the true doctrine of the Son of God. Then he was carried to the castle of Vic, and after some time was condemned, degraded, and delivered over to the secular power, with this speech: "My lord judge, we pray you as heartily as we can, for the love of God, and the contemplation of tender pity and mercy, and for respect to our prayers, that you will not in any point do any thing that shall be hurtful to this miserable man, or tending to his death, or the maiming of his body." He was afterwards burnt alive; which death he underwent with patience and comfort.

In the year 1540, one CLAUDIUS, endeavouring to convert his friends and kinsfolk in Paris, was betrayed by them, and adjudged to have his tongue cut out, and then burnt.

STEPHEN BRUNE, at Rutiers, for the constant profession of his faith, was condemned to be burnt. When the fire was kindled, a great wind so drove the flame from him, that he stood for an hour, exhorting and instructing the people. Then they brought oil, vessels, and more faggots, yet still the flame was driven from him. Whereupon the hangman thrust him through the belly with a pike, threw him down into the fire, and after he was burnt, scattered his ashes in the wind. At Roan four Christians were condemned to be burnt, and being carried to the stake in a dung-cart, they said, "Blessed be God, we are here reputed as the excrements of this world, but yet our death is a sweet savour unto God."

In 1549, there was a minister, called FLORENT VENOTE, cast into prison at Paris, where he lay above four years, in which time there was no kind of torment, which he did not endure and overcome. Amongst other tortures, he was put into so narrow a place, that he could neither

stand nor lie. He remained there seven weeks, whereas there was never any malefactor before that could endure it fifteen days, but he either grew mad or died. At last, when a great show was made at the king's coming into the city, and divers other martyrs in sundry places of it were put to death; Florent also, having his tongue cut out, was brought forth to see their execution, and lastly was himself burnt.

About the same time, one ANNE AUDEBERT, as she was going to Geneva, was apprehended and brought to Paris, where she was adjudged to be sent to Orleans and burned there. When she was had forth to execution, a rope being put about her, she called it her wedding-girdle, wherewith she should be married to Christ. Being to be burned on a Saturday, she said, "On a Saturday I was first married, and on a Saturday I shall be married again." She rejoiced much when she was put into the dung-cart, and shewed such patience and constancy in the fire, as made all the spectators wonder.

In 1553, three godly men were apprehended at Lyons, and condemned for the truth. When they were led forth to execution, two of them had ropes put about their necks. The third, having served the king in his wars, was favoured to have none: whereupon he said to the lieutenant, "I also desire to have one of these precious chains about my neck in honour of my Lord." This being granted, they all went singing to the fire, where, with much patience, they yielded up their spirits unto God.

Not long after, one MATTHEW DIMONET was apprehended in the same place. He formerly had lived a most wicked life, full of all filthiness and abominations. He had been also a searcher out of the professors of the gospel, and a great persecutor of them; yet at last it pleased God to shew him mercy, and he was converted

to the knowledge of the truth. Being apprehended and examined, he made a stout profession of his faith. During his imprisonment, he had great conflicts with the infirmity of his flesh, but especially with the temptations of his parents, kindred, and friends; yet the Lord so strengthened him, that he endured constant to the end. At his burning he spake much to the people, and was hearkened to with great attention.

SIMON LALOE, coming upon some occasions from Geneva into France, was apprehended by the bailiff of Dyon, and by him imprisoned and racked, to force him to confess what fellows he had: but that not prevailing, he was condemned to be burned. At his death, the executioner seeing his faith, patience, and constancy, was so wrought upon thereby, that he fell into great terrors of conscience, so that he was near to utter despair, and all the promises of the gospel could scarce comfort him. At last, through God's mercy, receiving comfort, he, with all his family, removed to the church of Geneva, where he afterwards lived till his death.

NICHOLAS NAILE, carrying some good books to Paris, was there apprehended, and made a bold confession of the faith, for which he was cruelly tormented, and all his joints racked asunder. Being condemned, he was carried to the stake, where they put a gag into his mouth, which they tied in so hard with a rope about his head, that blood gushed out of his mouth. They also besmeared all his body with oil and brimstone, so that at the first taking of fire, all his skin was shrivelled together, whilst his inward parts were untouched. The cord being burnt asunder, and the gag falling out of his mouth, he praised God in the midst of the fire, till he yielded up his spirit unto him.

PETER SERRE was at first a priest, but God, of his mercy, revealing his truth to him, he went to Geneva, and there learned the shoemaker's craft, whereby he

maintained himself. Having a brother at Thoulouse, he went thither to instruct him out of a singular love to his soul. His brother's wife not being well pleased herewith, revealed it to one of her companions, who informed the official against him.* Hereupon he was apprehended and carried before the inquisitor, to whom he made an excellent declaration of his faith, and so was delivered to the judge. The judge asked him of what occupation he was? He said, "I am of late a shoemaker." Then the judge asked him of what occupation he had formerly been? He said, "I am ashamed to utter it, or to remember it; it being the worst and vilest science of all others in the world." The judge and people supposing that he had been some cut-purse or thief, were more importunate to know what it was; but shame and sorrow so stopped his mouth, that he could not declare it. At last, through their importunate clamour, he told them, he had been a popish priest. This so incensed the judge, that he presently condemned him to be degraded, to have his tongue cut out, and to be burned; which was accordingly executed. In the fire he stood as quiet, looking up steadfastly to heaven at the time of his burning, as if he felt no pain at all. This caused wonderful admiration in the people; and one of the parliament said, "It is not the best way to bring the Lutherans to the fire, for it will do more hurt than good."

In 1558, NICHOLAS of Jonville, a young man, that had lived at Geneva, coming into France to obtain some money that was owing to him, was betrayed, apprehended, and condemned. Being carried in a cart to execution, his father met him, and would have beaten him with a staff, but the officers, not suffering it, were about to have stricken the old man. The son seeing it, cried to them to let his father alone, saying, that he had power over him to do to him what he would. At the place of execution he had an iron ball put into his mouth; and so he patiently took his martyrdom at Jonville.

In 1559, Henry II. king of France, coming into the parliament at Paris, there was one ANNE DU BOURG, (a noble counsellor, a man of singular understanding and knowledge, and bred up in the bosom of the church of Christ,) who made a bold speech before him, wherein he rendered thanks to Almighty God, for moving the king's heart to be present at the decision of so weighty a cause as that of religion was; humbly intreating him to consider well thereof, seeing it was the cause of Christ himself, which of good right ought to be maintained by princes. But the king, instead of hearkening to this good advice, was so far incensed against him, that he caused him to be apprehended by the earl of Montgomery, constable of France, and to be carried to prison, protesting to him in these words, "These eyes of mine shall see thee burnt." Presently after he sent a commission to the judges to make his process. During his imprisonment, there was a godly woman, who was a prisoner in a chamber just over against his, who, at her window, sometimes by words, at other times by signs, did much encourage him to persevere constantly in the truth, whereby he was so comforted, that when some of his friends persuaded him to recant, he said, "God forbid! for a woman hath taught me my lesson, how I ought to carry myself in this business." He was often examined about sundry points of religion; and being once asked, Whether he had conferred with any about them, he answered, "That he had conferred with his books; especially with the holy Scriptures."

Having drawn up a confession of his faith, he intended to present it to the parliament; but some advocates belonging to the court, who pretended to have a great love to him, laboured to draw him to make another confession, not contrary to truth; but in such ambiguous terms as might satisfy the judges. Du Bourg long resisted, but at last was prevailed with to draw up such a confession. As soon as this came into the hands of his judges, great hopes were conceived of his enlargement. But when the

Christian congregation had gotten a copy of it, they were much grieved: whereupon they ordered Master Augustine Marlorat, a learned and godly minister, (who afterwards, in 1562, together with three worthy counsellors, was hanged at Roan,) to write a large discourse concerning the duty of such as were called to bear witness to the truth of God before magistrates; exhorting him more highly to prize the glory of God than his own liberty; the truth of his gospel, than a short and transitory life; shewing that the fame of his constancy was spread, not only through France, but all Christendom over; that he had been a means to confirm many weak ones, and caused others to inquire after the way of salvation; that all men's eyes were fixed on him, so that if through fear he should do ought that should contradict his first profession, he would give much scandal and offence; and therefore he exhorted him to give glory to God; telling him, that then he might assure himself God would never leave nor forsake him. These letters brought Du Bourg to a sight of his sins, for which he asked pardon of God, and without any further delay wrote to the judges, retracting his last, and protesting to stand to his first confession; so that shortly after he was condemned.

In the mean time great feasts were prepared in the court, for joy of the marriages of the king's daughter and sister, which were soon to be celebrated. The day whereof being come, the king employed all the morning in examining the president, and other counsellors of the parliament against Du Bourg, and other his companions, that were charged with the same doctrine; intending to glut his eyes in seeing their execution; and then went to dinner. After dinner, the king, (being one of the defendants at the tilting, which was near the prison where Du Bourg and his fellows lay,) entered the lists, and behaved himself valiantly, breaking many spears against count Montgomery and others; whereupon he was highly commended of the spectators; and all thinking that he

had done enough, desired him to give over. But he, being puffed up with their commendations, would needs run another course with Montgomery, who, kneeling on his knees, craved pardon, refusing to run against him. The king being eagerly set on, commanded him on his allegiance to run, and put the spear into his hand. Montgomery, thus enforced, addressed himself to the course, and the king and he meeting, brake their spears, and the king's helmet falling down at the same instant, one of the splinters of Montgomery's spear entered just into his right eye, and so pierced his head, that his brains perished. This wound, being incurable, killed him within eleven days. Thus his hope of seeing Du Bourg burned, was frustrated. Du Bourg's execution thereupon was deferred for six months longer; when he, having constantly persevered in the confession of his faith, was first degraded, and the next day carried out to execution. The judges appointed six or seven hundred horse and foot well armed, to guard him. He was first hanged, and then his body was burnt to ashes.

Those of the Religion, (the name whereby the Protestants were commonly known,) seeing themselves destitute of all human aid, resolved in all their dangers, instead of seeking to man for help, to pray to God, to hear his word, to continue in true obedience unto it. This they did, and by their living in great love and concord one with another, abundance of Papists were so edified, that whole troops of them left the mass, and made open profession of the Protestant religion.

THE PERSECUTION

IN THE TIME OF

THE CIVIL WARS.



IN 1562, the duke of Guise passing towards Paris, and coming near to Vassy, heard a bell, which he understood rang to a sermon, which was to be preached in a barn, wherein were assembled about twelve hundred men, women, and children. He went presently with all his troops to the barn, and entering it, cried out, "Death of God! kill, kill these Huguenots!" Then some of them shot at those which were in the galleries, others cut in pieces such as they met with. Some had their heads cleft in twain, others had their arms and hands cut off, so that the walls and galleries were died with blood. The duke, with his sword drawn, stood amongst them, charging his men to kill without sparing, especially the young men. Some of these, getting upon the roof, hid themselves there; but at length some of his bloody crew espying them, shot at them, whereby many of them were slain. Then they fell to murdering all without distinction. Many men and women were slain. Others escaped, being sore wounded, but died shortly after. The minister, in the beginning of the massacre ceased not to preach, till one discharged his piece against the pulpit. Then falling upon his knees, he intreated the Lord to have mercy

upon him, and upon his poor persecuted flock ; and so coming down from the pulpit, attempted to escape ; but by the way he received divers wounds. Finding himself, as he thought, mortally hurt, he cried, “ Lord, into thy hand I commend my spirit, for thou hast redeemed me, O Lord, thou God of truth ! ” Before he was slain, some took him and carried him before the duke, who said to him, “ Who made thee so bold thus to seduce the people ? ” “ Sir,” said the minister, “ I am no seducer, but have faithfully preached the gospel of Jesus Christ to them.” Then the duke cursed and swore, saying, “ Death of God ! doth the gospel teach sedition ? ” He then called the provost, saying, “ Take this varlet and hang him upon a gibbet.” Then was he delivered to two pages, who basely abused him. The popish women also threw dirt at him, and could scarce be restrained from tearing him to pieces. He was kept close prisoner, none being suffered to bring him necessaries ; yet at last, through God’s mercy, he was released, at the earnest request of the prince of Portion. They broke down the pulpit and stripped the dead naked ; and so the duke departed, sounding his trumpets as if he had obtained a great victory.

When he came to Paris, he, with the constable and marshal of St. Andrews, seized upon the king, overthrew the places where they of the Religion used to assemble ; which so encouraged the popish party, that in every place they so abused the Protestants, as the most cruel barbarians would have been ashamed to do. This caused a civil war, wherein the duke of Guise, having taken Roan, sacked it for the space of three days, and executed many of the citizens. Not long after he went to Orleans, boasting that within twenty-four hours he would win the town, and spare neither man, woman, nor child in it ; and that he would so destroy the town, that the memory of it should be extinct for ever. But man purposes, and God disposes. For the same night, a young gentleman, named John Poltrot, shot him with his pistol, so that he

shortly after died. After his death, peace was concluded between the queen-mother and the Protestants. But before this peace took place, those of the Religion suffered much in sundry parts of the realm.

In Chalons there was a minister, called Fournier, apprehended and spoiled of all that he had. They stripped him also of his apparel; instead whereof, they put on him a thread-bare cloak, and so carried him away in a cart, by reason of an hurt that he had gotten in one of his feet. By the way, they did nothing but scoff at him, and every moment he was in danger of his life. The rude people also had almost pulled him to pieces. But it pleased God, that he was preserved by those who had designed him to death. When he came to Munchon he was cast into prison, and after a while there came a captain to him with many soldiers, who, mixing mocks and threatenings together, sware that he should be hewn in pieces. After them came in some of the judges, who commanded the jailor to load him with irons, saying, "You art no better than St. Peter, whom they laid in irons. But if you have as much faith as he, God will deliver you as he did him, by sending an angel to you." "I will not," said Fournier, "compare myself with St. Peter; yet it is not twelve years ago, since for preaching the same doctrine that Peter did, I was imprisoned at Thoulouse, and there was admirably delivered. And though Peter was delivered out of prison, yet in the end he glorified God by his death. And if I should be counted worthy with him to suffer for the truth, may it not be said, that I have the like precious faith with St. Peter?" When they were gone, the jailor forbore putting bolts upon him, because of his sore leg, yet he put him into a straiter prison.

Afterwards, the duke of Guise being made governor in that place, he was put to the torture. First they strained his thumbs so hard with a small cord that blood came forth. Then turning his arms behind his back, they

hoisted him up with a rope put between his thumbs, twitching him up and letting him down five or six times. They also tied great stones to both his great toes, and let him hang till his spirits failed. Then they let him fall with such violence upon his face, that he was grievously hurt thereby. Then he was thrown into prison, and they would not suffer him to have a surgeon to cure him of the gashes which the cords had made in his flesh, even to the bare bones. His torment and anguish was very great; neither could he lift his hands, (which he was likely to lose the use of,) to his mouth. But it so fell out, by God's providence, that after he was condemned, there came news of the duke of Guise's death. At this his enemies began to tremble; and some of his judges coming to him into prison, asked him, "If he did not bear them ill will?" He answered, "Men of my religion ought not to bear malice to any; being enjoined of God to love and pray for those that persecute them." He added, "Whatsoever troubles have befallen me, were none other, but such as God had fore-ordained for the setting forth of his own glory, for which I esteem myself most happy. Yet I warn you to lay to heart the wrong you have done me, lest the vengeance of God should sooner or later overtake you for it." The next day, Bulsi, one of his persecutors, having received letters from the constable of France to release him, swore, that he should be delivered indeed, but into the hands of the populace. It pleased God, that, just at that time, the prince of Portion came by with his German soldiers, which were on the Protestants' side. They sent word that they would not let so much as a house stand in Chalons, except they would deliver Fournier. This so affrighted his enemies, that they released him out of prison, protected him from the violence of the multitude, and conveyed him in safety to the prince. He was kindly entertained, all grieving for the miseries which he had endured. Two days after he preached before the prince and his followers. The day after, at the earnest request of the Protestants of Vitry, he went to

them to preach and baptize their children. Shortly after, he was called to Ver, where he gathered a congregation, and spent some time amongst them with wonderful fruit ; but by reason that he was so extremely weakened by his strait imprisonment and tortures, (being above fifty years old,) he soon after finished his course.

At Montargis, there lived the lady RENE, dutchess dowager of Ferrara, and daughter to king Lewis XII. The duke of Guise sent thither one Malicorn, who entering the town, murdered some of the Religion, and committed other outrages. He then proceeded so far as to threaten the lady to batter her castle with cannon-shot, if she would not deliver up those of the Religion, which were with her. The princess answered, " I charge you, look what you enterprize ; for no man in the realm can command me but only the king. If you proceed to batter, I will stand in the breach, to try whether you dare kill the daughter of a king. And take notice, I want neither means nor power to be revenged on your boldness ; even to the infants of your rebellious race." This stout answer made Malicorn depart.

At Mans, 200 persons, men, women, and children, were put to death. The houses of the Protestants were pillaged. Such as were fled, were executed by their pictures, their goods confiscated, and their children made incapable of their offices and estates ; yea, of inheriting their lands. Some they beheaded, others they hung up or massacred, and being half dead, threw them into the river. Above 120 men, women, and children, were murdered in the neighbouring villages. One captain threw above 50 persons into his fish-pond to feed his pikes, and above as many more were thrown into ditches.

At Angers, a godly minister, and above 80 other persons were executed. A gentlewoman, aged 70 years, was beat to death, and afterwards they drew her body through the streets, and threw it into the river, saying, " There

is the mother of the devil, that preached to the Huguenots," (the common name of the Protestants in France.) A counsellor's wife, that lay bed-ridden, was murdered, and women and maids were ravished. All that were but suspected to be of the Religion, were massacred, and their houses pillaged. They broke a captain upon a cross, contrary to their faith given, and left him hanging, in great misery, till he died.

In 1562, a decree was made by the parliament of Paris, commanding all Catholics immediately to rise in arms, to sound the bells in every place, to destroy all those of the Religion without respect of quality, sex, or age, to spoil their houses, and utterly to root them out. This encouraged all sorts to rise in arms, forsaking their vocations, and to march against the Protestants.

In Liguel they hanged up some, put out the minister's eyes, and then burnt him in a small fire. In other places they committed infinite villanies. One young man they flayed alive. The village of Aze they burnt down, and massacred 30 persons therein. A minister, called John de Tour, aged 75 years, was burnt by them.

At Tours, 140 persons were murdered, and cast into the river. Divers others were drowned, sparing neither man, woman, nor child. The president being suspected to favour them of the Religion, was beaten with staves, stripped to his shirt, hanged up by one foot, with his head in the water up to his breast; and whilst he was yet living, they ripped up his belly, plucked out his guts, and threw them into the river. Then sticking his heart upon the point of a lance, they carried it about, saying, "This is the heart of the president of the Huguenots." Shortly after, the duke of Monpensier came thither, who caused gibbets, wheels, and stakes, to be set up, whereon some hundreds, especially of the richer sort, were murdered. When they put any man or woman to death, they entered their houses, murdered their children, and took all their goods.

There was a poor woman, whose husband was drowned a little before, who had a young infant sucking at her breasts, and a beautiful daughter of about sixteen years old in her hand. These villains drew them all to the river. When they came thither, the woman falling on her knees, prayed ardently to God. Then she took her infant, and laid it upon the grass. In the mean time this hellish rabble endeavoured, partly by threats, partly by fair promises, to seduce the young maid. One of them, with more flattery than the rest, promised to marry her, if she would consent to his will. At this the poor girl stood in dismay. Her mother, who was ready to be thrown into the river, perceiving it, earnestly exhorted her daughter to persist in the truth. The daughter then cried out, "I will live and die with my mother, whom I know to be a virtuous woman. As for your threats and promises, I regard them not; do with me as you please." The mother was then thrown into the water, and before she was dead they threw in the daughter after; who getting to her mother, they mutually embraced each other, and so yielded up their souls into the hands of God.

In the same city, there was a godly matron, whose name was GLEE, who was carried before the captain, to whom she gave a reason of her faith, and confirmed it by evident testimonies of Scripture. She disputed also with some friars, whom she so silenced, that they had nothing to say, but that "she was in a damnable condition." "It seems so indeed," said she, "being in your hands; but I have a God, that will not fail nor forsake me." She was then committed to prison, where she was much solicited to recant, but all in vain: for she spake her mind freely, and comforted the prisoners which were in the same prison for religion. When she was condemned to be hanged, and the rope was put about her neck, she kneeled down, praising and magnifying the name of God, in that he shewed her such mercy, as by this death to

deliver her out of the troubles of this wretched world ; as also, for that it pleased the Lord to honour her so as to call her to die for his truth. She then breakfasted with the company, and when she had given thanks to God, she exhorted them to be of good courage, and to trust to the end in his free mercy. As she went to execution, a kinswoman met her, with her little children, and persuaded her to recant ; telling her, that thereby she might preserve her life, and see her babes provided for. This wrought so upon her motherly affection, that it made her shed plenty of tears ; but presently taking new courage, she said, “ I love my children dearly ; yet neither for love to them, nor for any thing else in the world, will I renounce my God, or his truth. God will be a father to these my children, and will provide better for them than I could have done ; and therefore I commend and leave them to his providence and protection.” At the place of execution, having prayed to, and praised God with a cheerful heart and voice, she quietly resigned up her spirit.

In Valougnes, divers persons of good quality were massacred, and the houses of the Protestants were filled with soldiers, that did what they listed therein. Amongst other outrages, they slew a godly minister, called MONSIEUR DE VALOUGNES, whose body they stripped naked, and dragged it up and down his house with scorns and jeers. At last, bringing the corpse into the chamber where he used to preach to his people, they spurned at it, saying, “ Now pray to God, and preach if thou canst.” The priests that were present, stuffed his mouth and wounds with the leaves of his bible, saying, “ Preach the truth of thy God, and call upon him now to help thee.”

One Monluc, having defeated a party of the Protestants near Blois, under Monsieur Duras, he took divers prisoners, most of whom he hanged, especially the ministers. Amongst the prisoners was a captain, called LA MOTHE, whom Monluc meeting with, gave him divers stabs with

a dagger, and thrust him through with a rapier, saying, "Villain, thou shalt die in spite of God!" But he proved a liar; for he being carried away, though he had many mortal wounds, yet was wonderfully cured, and lived afterwards.

In Guillac, the murders committed upon the Protestants were many and horrible. Amongst others, this was one of their practices: There was the abbey of St. Michael near the city, built upon a high rock, under which ran a deep and rapid river, called Tar. They forced many of the Protestants to go up to the top of this rock, and then they threw them down headlong into the river. By the way there was another rock, upon which most of the bodies falling, were dashed to pieces. If any escaped with life into the river, there were cut-throats, waiting upon the river in boats, to knock them on the head. Amongst others, there was one PETER DOMO, an apothecary's servant, who, seeing them bent to murder him, requested, that he might have leave to cast himself down from the top of the abbey, provided, that if God should preserve him in the fall, that they would suffer him to escape with life; whereupon, having made his prayers to God, he fetched his leap from the top of the abbey, and flew so far, that missing the rocks under him, he fell safely into the river. He then endeavoured to swim out with life; but these perfidious villains, contrary to their promise, knocked him on the head, and slew him.

In Souraize, there was one captain DURRE, who, with his soldiers, going into the house of a godly widow, called CASTILLE ROQUES, caused her to be bound with cords, and a rope to be put about her neck, by which he haled her up and down, almost strangling her. Then he asked her, how often she played the whore with those of her religion? She answered, "That in their Christian meetings they had no such villanies committed." DURRE fretting and fuming at this answer, took her by both the

cheeks, and often dashed her head with great violence against the wall. Then he required her to give him the 700 pieces of gold, which she had hid. She told him, she was a poor woman, and had only one French penny. This enraged him more ; whereupon he drew her up again by the neck, and applied burning-hot eggs to her arm-pits, till they were all blistered ; bidding her, in derision, to cry aloud to her Father which was in heaven. She answered, “ I will not cry aloud, and yet my God can hear me well enough ; and when his pleasure is, he will deliver me out of thy hand.” This made him blaspheme so, that the poor woman was more afflicted to hear his blasphemies, than with all her pain. Then calling her Huguenot whore, he told her, that these were but the beginning of her sorrows, except she fetched him out her gold : for he would draw her cheeks and breasts with lard, and so roast her quick, and afterwards throw her headlong from the highest steeple in the town. “ Well,” said she, “ if you throw my body never so low, that shall not hinder my soul from ascending into heaven.” This her courage and constancy did still further enrage him. Then he opened her mouth with a dagger, and crammed lime down her throat : after which he made her drink a glass of his own urine, and then threw the glass into her face. At last he carried her to his quarters, where he intended to have slain her ; but some of the neighbours, pitying her condition, redeemed her from him with ten crowns, and conveyed her to her house, where she died shortly after.

In Thoulouse, the papists fell upon the Protestants, hurt many, killed some outright, and threw divers into a well. Then some counsellors proclaimed, that they should not spare to kill and spoil all those of the Religion, for that they were licensed by the king and pope so to do. This soon ran through all the villages, and the papists rang their bells upon the news. There were in Thoulouse about 30,000 Protestants, so that there began one of the most horrible massacres that ever was in those parts.

The prisons were presently filled, and many were knocked on the head at the prison doors, because they could hold no more. The river, in a short space, was covered with dead bodies. Many* were thrown out of the windows into the street. If any sought to escape out of the water, they were presently slain with swords or stones. Some of the Protestants got into the town-house, where they stood upon their guard, and at last it was agreed, that, leaving their arms, they should depart in safety; so, after they had received the sacrament, and commended themselves to God with prayers and tears, they came forth. But, contrary to the faith and promise made to them, the popish party seized upon as many as they could, whom they cast into prison. Of such as got out of the city, some escaped to Montaubon; others, in the way, were spoiled and killed by the soldiers and peasants.

In Limous, the papists used all manner of cruelty, deflowering the women, nay, even the very girls, in a most detestable manner. The minister was slain, and two gentlemen, together with sixty others, were hanged. A widow, of a great family, redeemed the virginity of her only daughter with a great sum of money; but the villain, that promised to defend her, ravished her in her mother's presence, and then killed them both.

In Nonnay, Monsieur Chaumont having surprised the town, murdered many Protestants, spitting out horrible blasphemies against God himself. A locksmith was commanded to blaspheme God, and, on refusing to do it, was immediately hewn in pieces. Another, for the same cause, was brained with the butt-end of a musket. A nailor, because he would not give himself to the devil, was drawn about his shop by the ears; then, being laid on the anvil, they beat his head in pieces with hammers. Three of the principal in the town were thrown down from a high tower. Many others were thrown down to make sport. Some were burnt in their houses; others thrown out at windows; others stabbed in the streets; women and maids were most shamefully handled. A

young woman, that was found hid in a house with her husband, was ravished before his face; they then forced her to hold a rapier, while one forcing her arm, made her kill her own husband therewith.

In Foix, many Protestants were cast into prison, of whom some had their arms and legs cut off, and then were beheaded; some burnt, some hanged, and others sent to the gallies.

In Orange, they killed the Protestants without distinction of age, sex, or quality. Some they stabbed; others they threw upon points of halberds; some they hanged; others they burnt in the churches; some had their privy-members cut off; neither old, nor bed-ridden, nor the diseased in the hospitals were spared. Sucking children massacred at their mothers' breasts. Girls of five or six years old were ravished and spoiled. The wounds of the dead were filled with leaves torn out of the Bible. Those in the castle being 190, that had yielded upon promise of safety, were all stabbed, or thrown over the walls.


In Mascon, the bloody persecutors apprehended a godly and learned minister, called BONNET BOR, who was of a very unblamable life, and had been twenty years in the ministry; during which, he had been put to his ransom three times. They carried him along the streets with a thousand scoffs and scorns, smiting him with their fists, and thrusting him up and down. As they passed along, they made this proclamation, "Whosoever will hear this holy man preach, let him come to the slaughter-house!" To this place he was led, where they again buffeted and mocked him two hours together. Seeing them bent upon his death, he requested them, that before he died they would permit him to pray to God. Then one stepping to him, cut off half his nose, and one of his ears, saying, "Now pray as long as you will, and then we shall send thee to all the devils." This holy man then kneeling down, prayed with such fervency of spirit, that he even drew sighs from some of the murderers. Afterwards directing his speech to

him that had cut off his nose, he said, " Friend, I am now ready to suffer what thou hast further to inflict upon me. But I entreat thee and thy companions to bethink you well of the outrages committed by you against this poor city ; for there is a God in heaven, before whose tribunal you must shortly give an account of these your cruelties." A captain passing by, said, " Send that wretched man to the devil." One of them, hearing this, took him by the hand, pretending to have him to the river, to wash off his blood ; but when he came there, he threw him into it, and battered him with stones till he was drowned.

THE HISTORY

OF THE

MASSACRE AT PARIS.



IN the year 1571, after the end of the third civil war in France, great means were used to draw the chief of the Protestants to Paris, under pretence of a marriage between the prince of Navarre, and the lady Margaret, sister to Charles IX. king of France. In the mean time, the papists in Roan murdered divers Protestants, as they came from a sermon, and grievously beat others. This seemed much to displease the king, and three or four were executed for the mutiny. Then the articles of marriage were agreed upon. The place appointed for the celebration of it was Paris, and admiral Chatillon was

sent to by the king, to be present at the wedding ; and to prevent all jealousies, those of the house of Guise were sent away; whereat they seemed much discontented. The admiral was allowed to bring with him fifty gentlemen armed for his greater security. When he came to Paris, he was honourably received, and conducted to the king, who called him his father, protesting, That in all his life he had not seen a day more agreeable to his mind than that; wherein he assured himself to see the end of all troubles, and the beginning of firm peace and quietness in his realm. The queen-mother, and the rest of the great courtiers, received him with greater favour than he expected. Then the king sent him 100,000 franks out of his treasury, for the losses which he had received in the wars.

Admiral Chatillon had divers advertisements of the intended treachery; yet he was so blinded at that time, though a very prudent man, that he gave little heed to them. Yea, such a general stupidity seized upon the Protestants, that their minds were wavering, and few there were that shewed themselves zealously bent to religion; but all, both great and small, thinking deeply upon worldly matters, built them goodly castles in the air.

The queen of Navarre was sent for by the king of France to Paris, to prepare all things against the wedding. Presently after her arrival, she fell sick of a fever. In her illness, she had much inward joy and comfort, and at five days' end died; not without suspicion of poison, from certain perfumes given to her. After her death, the surgeons were not suffered to open her head, where the mischief lay, whereby it was better concealed.

The admiral was again advertised of his danger; but he, resting upon the testimony of a good conscience, and the providence of God, mis-interpreted those advices, as if they proceeded from men desirous of new troubles. Many lords and gentlemen of the Religion accompanied the king of Navarre and the prince of Conde to Paris. The king of France, the better to delude the Protestants,

spoke openly, That he gave not his sister to the king of Navarre only, but, as it were, to the whole church of the Protestants, to join with them in an indissoluble union, and as a tie to their peace and safety.

August 17, 1572, the king of Navarre and the lady Margaret were married by the cardinal of Bourbon, in the sight of all the people, and that day was spent in banquets, dances, and masks, with a strange mixture of Protestants and Papists together. In the mean time, the queen-mother, with the duke of Anjou and the Guises, consulted about killing the admiral, and dividing the Protestants. Five days after, as the admiral came from the court, accompanied with about fifteen gentlemen, reading a petition as he went, one shot at him with a musket. The bullet took away his right fore-finger, and hurt him in the left arm. The assassin had a Spanish jennet at the back door of his lodging, upon which, as soon as he had shot, he mounted and escaped. The door being burst open, it was found that the musket left behind was brought to the house the day before, by one Chally, steward to the king's house, and a great dealer for the duke of Guise. The admiral being conveyed to his lodging, shewed most admirable piety, patience, and constancy. The king complained of the mischief, swearing and promising to execute such justice upon the offender, that the admiral and all his friends should think themselves well satisfied. He also caused all the gates of Paris to be shut; swearing and blaspheming, that he would not that they which had done the fact should escape. He also appointed many lords and gentlemen of the Protestants to lodge in the admiral's quarter, the better, as he pretended, to secure themselves against any danger.

In the afternoon, the king went to visit the admiral, and there, with many oaths and protestations, assured him of his love to him, his care over him, and them of the Religion; and that he would severely punish the authors of his present hurt. Presently after, the vidame of Chartres, (John de Ferriers,) advised the king of

Navarre, the prince of Conde, the admiral, and other chief lords of the Religion, immediately to depart out of Paris; assuring them, that that blow was but the beginning of the tragedy, which was soon to ensue; but they, trusting to the king's word, rested secure. The same day, also, the king wrote to the ambassadors of foreign princes, and to the governors of all his provinces, declaring how he was offended at the admiral's hurt, and how severely he would punish it; yea, desiring that all the world might know how much he was offended at it. And the queen-mother wrote the like.

In the mean time, the dukes of Anjou and Guise employed some to go from house to house to take the names of all the Protestants, and to return the catalogue to them. By this, they of the Religion began to discover that some bloody intentions were hatching against the admiral and his friends. The king then set a guard at the admiral's gate. Great store of arms were carried into the Louvre, and about evening all the people were in arms. The chief of the Protestants hereupon assembled again in the admiral's lodging, where the vidame of Chartres advised, as before, that they should essay presently to carry the admiral out of Paris, and that the rest should presently dislodge; yet all the rest refused his counsel, resolving to rely upon the king's word.

In the evening some Protestant gentlemen proffered to watch with the admiral, but he would not suffer them. At night the duke of Guise sent for the captain of the Switzers, shewing him his commission to kill the admiral and all his partakers, exhorting him and his men to be courageous. At midnight the provost, sheriffs, and captains of every ward, had the same shewed them, with assurance, That through the whole realm the like should be done to all the Protestants, and that the watch-word for the general massacre should be, the tolling of a bell in the palace, at break of day; and the badge of the executioners should be, a white handkerchief tied on their arms, and a white cross in their hats. The duke of

Guise and his associates were to begin at the admiral's lodging.

Some of the Protestants being awakened with the noise of men in the streets running up and down in arms, and with torches, got up to inquire what was the matter. Presently the bell rung, and the duke of Guise with his cut-throats hasted to, and knocked at the admiral's gates. He that opened them was presently stabbed. The admiral hearing a noise, got out of bed, and joined with Mr. Merlin, his minister, in fervent prayer; commending his soul into the hands of God. Then said he, "I have long disposed myself to die; save you yourselves, if it be possible, for you cannot save my life. I commit my soul into the hands and mercy of God." Then Merlin and the rest got to the top of the house, and crept out of the windows into the gutters to hide themselves; yet most of them were slain in the next house. Then seven or eight men brake into the admiral's chamber, and one of them went to him with his naked sword, offering him the point. To whom he said, "Thou oughtest to respect my age and infirmity." To which he replied by running him through the body; and all the rest laid at him so, that he fell to the ground, where he lay gasping. The duke of Guise below, called to them to throw his body out at the window, which they did. His face being all bloody, the duke of Guise wiped it, and looking on it, said, "I know him; it is he;" and so kicked him on the face with his foot, whom all the murderers in France feared so much when he was alive. Then he went out into the streets, crying, "Courage, my fellows, we have here made a good beginning. Let us fall upon the rest: the king commands it. It is his express pleasure: he commands it." The admiral's head was sent to the king and queen-mother, and by them sent to the pope and cardinal of Lorraine as a grateful present. When the pope heard of it, he set apart a day of publick thanksgiving to God, in the church of St. Lewis, and published a bull of extraordinary indulgences to such as should pray for heavenly assistance to

the king and kingdom of France. The common people cut off the admiral's hands and privy members, drawing his body about the streets three days, and then hung it by the feet upon the gallows.

All the attendants of the king of Navarre and prince of Conde, which lay in the king's palace, were massacred. The like was done to the lords and gentlemen that lay about the admiral's lodging. And then through all the city the Protestants were murdered; so that that night, and the two next days, there were slain in Paris about 10,000 persons, of all ranks, ages, and sexes; yea, they spared not children in the cradle, nor infants in their mother's wombs.

There were at this time in Paris about 60,000 men, with pistols, pikes, poniards, knives, and such other bloody instruments, that ran up and down swearing and blaspheming the sacred majesty of God, cruelly massacring all they met with. The streets were covered with mangled bodies; gates and doors defiled with blood. The shoutings and howlings of the murderers, mixed with the cries and groans of the dying, and the breaking open of doors and windows, with the firing of guns and pistols, made a terrible noise. Multitudes of dead bodies were thrown into the Seine, which was reddened with their blood. To colour this their villany, they gave it out, that the Huguenots had conspired to kill the king. They also boasted that they had in one day done that which processes, sentences of justice, and open war could not do in twelve years. The king certified the king of Navarre and the prince of Conde of all that was done, saying, "That he saved their lives upon condition that they should renounce their religion, and turn Papists." The king of Navarre desired him not to force his conscience, but to remember the alliance, so lately contracted betwixt them. The prince of Conde, with more zeal, told him, that his body and estate were in his power, to do with them what he pleased; but for his religion he was fully purposed not to forsake it, but to remain constant therein, to the

loss of his life. He put the king in mind also that he had given his faith to him, and to those of the Religion, and therefore he hoped he would not falsify his oath. This so enraged the king, that he called him rebel, and the son of a rebellious person, with horrible threatenings that he should lose his head, if within three days he altered not his mind.

The king and his confidants, perceiving that this massacre would not quench the fire, but rather stir up the Protestants in other parts of the kingdom to defend themselves, they presently despatched away letters to the governors of towns, with express commands to massacre all the Protestants. At the same time the king wrote other letters, wherein he laid the fault of the murder of the admiral upon the duke of Guise; pretending that he had quieted all things in Paris, and intended that his edicts of pacification should be held inviolable. Upon the receipt of these letters, the Papists fell upon the Protestants at Meaux, Trois, Orleans, and other places, and murdered them without all pity; besides such as were massacred in villages and fields, where they thought to save themselves; so that in a few weeks there were about 30,000 persons massacred in France.

Besides this general account, some particulars deserve remembrance, which are these that follow. Monsieur de la Place, president of the Court of Requests, had a captain armed, that came into his house, telling him that the duke of Guise had slain admiral Chatillon, at the king's appointment, with many other Huguenots, and that he was come to protect him in this common destruction; only he desired a sight of the gold and silver that was in his house. The lord de la Place, amazed at his audaciousness, asked him whether he thought there was a king, or not? The captain, blaspheming, willed him to go with him to know the king's pleasure. Hereupon the lord went from him to secure himself. Then the captain rifled his house, taking above one thousand crowns out

of it. The lord would have secured himself in three several houses, all which refused to entertain him, which caused him to go back to his own again. Here he found his wife very heavy, for which he rebuked her, and discoursing to her of the promises, told her, that we "must through many afflictions enter into the kingdom of God." Then calling his family together, he made an exhortation to them, went to prayer, and began to read a chapter in Job. Then he went to prayer again, resolving to suffer all torments, or death, rather than do any thing that might dishonour God. Then came the provost-marshal, with many archers, to his house, pretending to secure him, and to convey him safely to the king, who would speak with him. De la Place told him that he was very willing to do it, but saw it impossible. Presently after came the provost of merchants, who also would needs have him to the king. De la Place would have excused it, as before, but the provost would have no nay. Therefore, resolving upon death, which he saw he could not avoid, he embraced his wife; and wishing her, above all things, to continue in the fear of God, he went on his way boldly. In the street, some murderers, that attended there for his coming, stabbed him with their daggers, and the next day threw him into the river.

PETER RAMUS, the king's professor in logic, was not forgotten. The murderers breaking into the college of priests, where he was, massacred him, and then cast him out of the chamber window, so that his bowels gushed out upon the stones.

A young man going early abroad on the Sabbath morning, and hearing of the death of the admiral, out of a singular affection to his mother, he hasted home, informed her of the danger, and secured her in a place of great secrecy. After which, he shut himself up in his study, in order by prayer to prepare himself for death. The murderers soon breaking in upon him with battle-axes and staves, killed him, and threw him into the

river. Two ministers belonging to the king of Navarre were also murdered, and thrown into the river; but God miraculously preserved all the other ministers in the city. One of the murderers snatching up a little child in his arms, the poor babe began to play with his beard, and to smile upon him; but he, instead of being moved to compassion thereby, wounded it with his dagger, and cast it, all in gore blood, into the river.

The king's letters being come to Meaux upon the same Sabbath, to Cosset, the king's attorney there, upon the sight of them he presently went about to his cut-throats, warning them to come to him armed at seven o'clock at night; withal causing the gates of the city to be shut up. The hour being come, he with his partisans went up and down, cruelly murdering the innocent servants of Jesus Christ; in which bloody employment they spent all that night. The next day they pillaged their houses, and took above 200 Protestants more, and shut them up in prison. The day after, towards evening, Cosset, with his companions, went to the prison, where, having a catalogue of the prisoners' names, he called them out one by one, and they murdered them till they were weary. Then they went to supper, that so they might breathe and refresh themselves. When they had filled themselves with wine, they went back to glut themselves with blood. They took with them butchers' axes, that they might despatch them the more easily. With these, as they called them forth, they knocked them down and murdered them. Amongst those that were thus butchered, was an elder of the reformed church, who prayed for his enemies; for which they laughed him to scorn. He having a buff coat on, which they were loath to spoil, they opened it before, and stabbed him in the breast. There was likewise an ancient man, that had been sheriff of the city, whom they were not content to kill out-right; but first they cut off his nose, ears, and privy members, and then gave him several small thrusts into the body, tossing him up and down, till, through loss of blood, he fell down, calling

upon the name of the Lord ; and so with many wounds he was slain.

The king's letters being come to Troyes, the Protestants were all shut up in prison. Then the bailiff sent for the common hangman to murder them ; but he refused, saying, " That his office was only to execute such as were legally condemned ;" and so went his way. Then the keeper of the prison was sent for, who being sick, he sent one Martin to know what the business was. The bailiff imparted the whole matter to Martin, wishing him to murder all the prisoners ; and that their blood might not run out into the street, he bade him make a great trench in the midst of the prison, and cause certain vessels to be set into it to receive the blood. This Martin went back with abhorrence of the fact, and concealed it from the jailer. The next day the bailiff came to the prison, and smiling, asked the jailer, " If it was done ?" He being ignorant of his meaning, asked him, " What should be done ?" Hereupon the bailiff was so enraged, that he was ready to strike him with his dagger, till he promised to perform his will. Then the jailer went to the prisoners, who were in the court, and shut them up one by one in their several cells ; which made them suspect that they were destined to slaughter ; and therefore they betook themselves to prayer. The jailer calling his companions about him, acquainted them what was given him in charge, and caused them to swear to execute it. But when they approached to the prisoners, they were so surprised with fear, that they stood gazing one upon another, not having hearts to act so horrid a deed. Then they returned to the jailer's lodge, and sent for eight quarts of the strongest wine, with other liquors, to intoxicate their brains. Having taken a catalogue of all the prisoners, they gave it to Martin to call them forth in order. The first prisoner being called for, presented himself with a cheerful countenance, calling upon the name of the Lord ; and opening his breast to them, he received the mortal stroke, whereof he died.

Another being called forth, one of them thrust at him several times with the point of his halberd, and wounded, but did not kill him. Then the prisoner took the point of the halberd, and set it against his heart, saying, with a steadfast voice, "Here, soldier, here : right at the heart ; right at the heart ;" and so finished his life. The rest were all murdered in the like manner. After which, the murderers made a great pit in the back side of the prison, into which they cast the bodies one upon another ; some of them being yet alive : yea, one of them raised up himself above his fellows ; whereupon they threw in earth, and so smothered him. But the bailiff's order of making a trench not being observed, the blood of the slain ran so abundantly out of the prison door, that thence, through the channel, it ran into the river, and turned it into the colour of blood, which bred an horror in the very Papists themselves.

At Orleans, the king's edict for observing the treaty of peace was solemnly published, which made those of the Religion very secure ; whereupon above 300 of them, men, women, and children, met together at a sermon, the same night the king's letters came for the massacring of them all. Then the mayor and sheriffs raised the companies in arms to put it in execution. One of these murderers, with some of his companions, went to a counsellor's house, bidding themselves to supper. The counsellor, ignorant of their intents, made them good cheer. When supper was ended, uttering horrible blasphemies, they murdered him, and then plundered his house. Many of the Religion inhabited about the ramparts of the wall, amongst whom nothing was heard all night but shooting of guns and pistols, breaking open of doors, fearful outcries of men, women, and children that were massacred, trampling of horses, rumbling of carts, that carried the dead bodies away, and the ravings of the murderers, that went up and down, crying out, "Kill, kill them all ; and then take the spoil."

One night, some of the murderers came and knocked

at the door of a doctor of the civil law, and when he opened it to them, they told him, "That he must die." Upon this he fell to prayer with such ardency and affection, that they, being amazed and over-ruled by a Divine power, only robbed him, and went away. The next day some scholars came to his house, desiring to see his library, which he shewed them. Then they asked some for one book, some for another, which he gave them. They told him at last they were not satisfied, but they must kill him. Whereupon he betook himself to prayer, and when he had done, he desired them to kill him there; but they refused it. Then they forced him out into the streets, and led him by the schools. He again desired them to kill him in that place, where he had taught so long, but they still refused. When they had led him a little farther, they knocked him on the head. To fulfil the measure of their cruelty, such Protestants as through fear revolted to them, they placed them in the fore-front of their companies; putting weapons in their hands, and compelling them to give the first onset, crying, "Smite them, smite them: are they not your holy brethren and sisters?" And if any refused, they presently slew them. In this massacre, which lasted a whole week, the Papists boasted that they had slain above 12,000 men, besides women and children. Some of them said 18,000.

In Lyons, Mandolet, governor thereof, hearing of the massacre at Paris, presently caused the city gates to be shut, and raised forces, commanding them, That if the Protestants came out of their houses, though but with swords, they should presently kill them. The Protestants, seeing a storm coming, which they knew could not arise without the special providence of God, set themselves to bear it with invincible patience. The day following, if any of them did but go abroad, about their necessary occasions, they were presently clapt in prison; and when night came, the murderers entered their houses, which they rifled and plundered: and pretending to carry the

Protestants to prison, they stabbed some of them in the streets, and others they threw into the river; some of whom were carried down the stream half a mile below the city, by which means they escaped. The day after, proclamation was made by sound of trumpet, That all of the Religion should appear at such a place, to know the king's pleasure concerning them. Many went, but as soon as they came, they were sent to several prisons. The night following, every corner and part of the city was full of lamentable cries and shriekings, partly of such as were massacred in their houses, partly of such as were but half murdered, and so haled to be thrown into the river. From that time there were such horrible murders committed in the city, as if the devils, in the likeness of men, ran roaring about to do mischief. The Sabbath morning following, those that had hitherto escaped massacring were despatched. In the archbishop's house there were 350 prisoners shut up, and a crew of cut-throats appointed to murder them, to whom the keys were delivered; and they, rushing into the great court, gave notice to the prisoners with a loud voice, that they must die. Then, having first taken all the prisoners' purses, they fell upon them, hacking and hewing them in a furious manner; so that within an hour and an half, they were every one cut in pieces. The prisoners were all slain, with their eyes and hands lifted up to heaven, till their hands were cut off.

There was a merchant, named Francis de Bossu, that had two sons: the father, seeing these horrible massacres, said to his sons, "Children, we are not now to learn that it hath always been the portion of believers to be hated, persecuted, and devoured by unbelievers. If we suffer with Christ, we shall also reign with him. Let not therefore these drawn swords terrify us, they will be but as a bridge whereby we shall pass to eternal life. We have lived long enough amongst the wicked; let us now go and live with our God. Let us joyfully go after this company that is gone before us." When he saw the mur-

derers come, he clasped his arms about his two sons, and they theirs about him, as if they strove mutually to ward off the blows each from the other, and were afterwards found dead in their mutual embraces.

The murderers went up and down the city, boasting that they had dyed their white doublets red in the blood of the Huguenots. One bragged that he had killed an hundred ; some more, and some less. When the people went into the archbishop's house, and saw the slaughter that had been made there, though they were Papists, yet they said, " Surely they were not men, but devils, that did this." The dead corpses were carried out, and spread like dung upon the earth ; and when they were about to throw them into the river, an apothecary told them much money might be made of their grease. Then all the fat bodies were sought out, ripped up, and their grease sold for three shillings a pound ; which being done, some were tumbled into a great pit, others thrown into the river. The countries which lay below upon the river, were amazed to see such multitudes of dead bodies come down the stream, some with their eyes pulled out, others their noses, ears, and hands cut off, and stabbed in every part of their bodies, so that some had no part of human shape remaining.

The news of the massacre at Paris coming to Thoulouse, the gates of the city were presently shut up. But it pleased God, that that morning most of the Protestants were gone out of the city to hear a sermon. The report of the shutting up of the gates coming to them, some of them thought it not fit to return ; others would needs go back to take order about their affairs. These were suffered to enter peaceably, leaving their swords at the gates, the rather to draw in the rest, amongst whom were divers counsellors. Great means were used to entrap them : and indeed some of them were enticed to come back. But when they saw they could get in no more, the Wednesday morning following, soldiers were sent to break into all the houses of those of the

Religion, and to carry them to sundry prisons. The gates were watched that none should escape. Command also was given that none should conceal any of the Protestants. Amongst the prisoners were five or six counsellors, who much comforted and encouraged the rest. Then all the prisoners were brought together into one place, and letters procured from the king to massacre them. Accordingly, some lewd persons, armed with axes and butcher's knives, were sent to effect it; who calling them out, one by one, murdered them all; not permitting them so much as to speak, much less to pray. The number of the slain was above 300, who were stript stark naked, and their bodies left to the view of all for two days together. Then they were thrown naked into pits, one upon another. Only the counsellors were hung up in their long gowns upon an elm in the palace-yard. All their houses were also sacked and plundered.

THE PERSECUTION
OF THE
CHURCH OF GOD IN THE
VALTELINE.

In the year of our Lord 1620.



THE Grison lords, who were the sovereign magistrates of this country, had, by sundry decrees, granted liberty to the Protestants to exercise their religion freely. But when the minister of Tell, with his congregation, were met together in the service of God, the bloody Papists, rising in arms, set upon them, slew one, and beat others so cruelly with staves, that they were forced to desist from their purpose. Shortly after they murdered some others, and set guards upon all the passages of the valley, that none of the Protestants should escape them. Then they rang their bells, and raised all the country; and if any Protestants stirred out of their houses, they murdered them. They also broke into the houses of others, drew them out of their beds, and murdered them. Some of the Protestants retired to the houses of Papists that were near of kin, or otherwise engaged to them, to secure themselves; but there they were betrayed and murdered. Some they strangled, some they shot; beat out the brains of others, and others they drowned in the

river Alba. A noble gentleman, that had hid himself, was found by them, who requested them to spare his life for his dear children's sake. But they told him, this was no time for pity, except he would abjure his faith. "Nay, (said he,) God forbid that, to save this temporal life, I should deny my Lord Jesus Christ, who with his precious blood upon the cross redeemed me at so dear a rate: and having, through his grace, so long and publicly professed him, that I should now hazard the loss of eternal life." Hereupon they murdered him. They brake also into the palace of the governor, and murdered him. Women and maids they defloured: and of all the Protestants in that country, there were only three that escaped over the horrid and vast mountains of the Alps into Rhetia.

Having despatched the Protestants in this place, they marched to another, just at the time when the Protestants were at church hearing a sermon. They were guided to the place by two friars. The Protestants seeing them coming, shut the church doors, and barricaded them up with benches. The villains laboured to break open the door, but when they could not readily do it, they clambered up into the windows, through which they shot with their muskets at the people, and wounded and killed many. The minister being a man rarely endued with learning and piety, according to the shortness of time, exhorted them to persevere in the truth, notwithstanding all the danger. In the mean time, the Papists had forced open the door, where they fell to murdering of all without respect of quality, sex, or age. Some lords and gentlemen were here slain. The minister was shot to death. Divers ladies and children got into the belfry; but they set fire to the place, and burnt them all. The wretches, having thus glutted themselves with blood in this place, marched to Sondres. The Papists in that place, hearing of their coming, went to the justice, protesting, that they would guard him from any danger, and that they would not suffer such villanies to be committed amongst

them. Then they beat their drums, rang their bells, and armed themselves, under pretence of securing the Protestants; who, trusting to their promises, mixed themselves amongst them to stand for their own defence. The Papists, concealing their intent, killed now one, then another, as if it had been by accident; so that divers of them were slain, yet they did not find out the iniquity of the practice. Some, both men and women, sought to escape; but all passages being shut up, they were met with and murdered. Then they discovered their practice more openly, killing the Protestants wherever they met them. Hereupon eighteen of the Protestants, together with some ladies and young children, got together; and the men being well armed, they marched close together, repulsing their enemies; and at last came to a church in the mountain of Sondres, unto which a minister and some others, in all about 73 men, were gathered together. After they had made their prayers unto God, they passed the Valley of Malaneo, which was beset by the enemy on both sides. But such as kept the passages were, by God's special providence, so astonished, that they fled away; and the Protestants, though they were pursued to the top of the mountains, miraculously escaped with safety. Then the peasants joined with these villains to rob and plunder the houses of the Protestants; and amongst them, divers noblemen's houses richly furnished. They also ran up and down through fields, woods, and mountains, searching every bush for the Protestants. And as they found any of them they immediately murdered them.

There was an honourable lady, that not long before came out of Italy, to enjoy her liberty of conscience, whom they exhorted to change her religion; which she refusing, they advised her, That at least she would do it out of a care for her young infant, which she had in her arms; who otherwise, together with herself, would presently be slain. She answered, with an undaunted courage, "I have not departed out of Italy, my native

country, nor forsaken all the estate I had there, now to renounce the faith which I had wrought in me by the Lord Jesus Christ. I will rather suffer, if it were possible, a thousand deaths. How shall I have regard in this case to my infant, since God, my heavenly Father, spared not his own Son, my Lord Jesus Christ, but delivered him up to death for his love to me, and such sinners as I am?" And so, giving her child to one, she said, "Behold my child! the Lord God, who hath care of the birds of the air, is much more able to save this poor creature, although it should be left by you to these wild mountains." Then unlacing her gown, she opened her breast, saying, "Here is the body, which you have power to kill; but my soul, on which you have no power to lay your hands, I commend to God." Then she was presently slain, and hewn in pieces. One Dominico Berto, of sixteen years old, was set upon an ass, with his face to the tail, and led thus, with many jeers, to the market-place. Then they cut off his nose, ears, and cheeks, and burnt many holes in several parts of his body with hot irons; continuing these torments till they had killed him. Yet, through the wonderful goodness of God, some ministers, with their wives and children, by great travel, dangers, and difficulties amongst the craggy and high mountains, were delivered out of the hands of these bloody persecutors.

A noble virgin, that came to Sondres, for the sake of religion, was seized upon by these villains, and carried through the streets with the greatest shame and disgrace. They put a mitre of paper on her head, besmeared her face with dirt, buffeted her on the cheeks, and then exhorted her to call upon the saints; but she, smiling thereat, said, "My trust and my salvation is only in my Saviour Jesus Christ, and upon him only will I rest. As for the Virgin Mary, though she be blessed above all women, yet she is not omniscient, and therefore knows not our requests; yea, she herself had need of the merits of her Son, without which she could not have been saved." They still continuing to deride her, she manfully

said, "I willingly endure all this, as it becomes me to do, desiring no better usage; seeing the same was done to my Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, to his apostles, and to thousands of the holy martyrs." Then she was carried away, and murdered in the fields.

These murderers, having slain all in Tyrane, Bruse, Tell, Sondres, and Malenco, went to Berbenno, where they presently murdered sundry persons, of good rank and quality, and with great cruelty, contrary to their faith and promise given them. They did the like in Caspano and Trahen, and divers other places; shewing neither pity nor favour to any. In one house they slew a man and his wife; and seeing an infant of three years old lying in the cradle, the child, being a girl of a sweet and amiable countenance, and seeming to smile upon them, they took her by the heels, and dashed out her brains. Then these villains marched to Bruse, where they also murdered many; shooting some, drowning, stoning, and burning others, and grinding their bones to powder. Amongst other cruelties, finding a poor matron, aged 80 years, they much solicited her to hear mass, wishing her to have respect to her age. To whom she answered, "God forbid that I, who now of a long time have had one foot in the grave, should forsake my Lord Jesus Christ, who hath so long time preserved me in the knowledge and profession of his truth." Whereupon they instantly killed her.

END OF VOLUME III.

